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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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(See p. 27)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

March · 1959



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For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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MARCH, 1959

CONTENTS

	PAGE
New Faith in the American Heritage <i>Edward P. Alexander</i>	1
Some Baltimore City Place Names . . . <i>William B. Marye</i>	15
Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705-1762 <i>John M. Hemphill, II</i>	36
Fort McHenry: 1814	
Part I, The Battle of Baltimore . . . <i>Franklin R. Mullaly</i>	61
Sidelights	104
Lot Number 71, Annapolis, A Brief Historical Sketch <i>Ruby R. Duval</i>	
A Marylander Visits Jackson, 1832	
Reviews of Recent Books	114
Fenton, <i>Politics in the Border States</i> , by J. Joseph Hutchmacher	
Whiffen, <i>The Public Buildings of Williamsburg</i> , by Henry Chandlee Forman	
Whyte, <i>The Uncivil War</i> , by Harry L. Coles	
Bass, <i>The Green Dragoon</i> , by Carlos R. Allen, Jr.	
Jones, <i>The Plantation South</i> , by Anthony Harrigan	
Christie, <i>The End of North's Ministry, 1780-1782</i> , by George A. Foote	
Stewart, <i>Names on the Land</i> , by J. Louis Kuethe	
Armstrong, <i>Days at Cabin John</i> , by Mrs. John G. McDonald	
Mitchell, <i>A Family Lawsuit</i> , by Ella Lonn	
Skordas, and Thomas, Eds., <i>Calendar of Maryland State Papers</i> , No. 5, by Mabel E. Deutrich	
Wiley, Ed., <i>Recollections of a Confederate Staff Official; Kentucky Cavaliers in Dixie</i> , by C. A. Porter Hopkins	
MacLysaght, <i>Irish Families: Their Names, Arms, and Origins</i> , by Dorothy Mackay Quynn	
Steadman, <i>The Home Team: 100 Year of Baseball in Baltimore</i> , by James H. Bready	
Notes and Queries	128
Contributors	130

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THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other historical agencies; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of useful historical books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are \$8 and up, life membership \$150. Subscriptions to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, are included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 1. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1. Closed Saturdays in August.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 54

MARCH, 1959

Number 1

NEW FAITH IN THE AMERICAN HERITAGE

By EDWARD P. ALEXANDER

THE historical museum came into existence in the United States soon after independence had been won and the Constitution adopted. It arrived as part of the first historical societies—the Massachusetts Historical Society set up at Boston in 1791, the New-York Historical Society of 1804, and the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester in 1812. Then in 1844 a score of gentlemen, led by the zealous and hard-driving Brantz Mayer, gathered in the office of the Maryland Colonization Society in Baltimore and formed the Maryland Historical Society. By 1860 there were some 65 of these societies in every state east of Texas except Delaware.¹

¹ The best general studies of historical societies are Julian P. Boyd, "State and Local Historical Societies in the United States," *American Historical Review*, XL (October, 1934), 10-37 and Leslie W. Dunlap, *American Historical Societies, 1790-*

American historical societies were founded on the premise that history is good for the citizens of a republic, that historical perspective helps them more clearly understand their lives and culture, and that the inspiration of historical personalities fosters better citizenship. Thomas Jefferson expressed this belief in the usefulness of history for citizens of the new republic.²

History [he wrote], by apprizing them of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views.

The founders of the early historical societies were driven by love of learning and love of country. Many of them were true antiquarians, admiring the past and "bygones" for their own sake. They wished to emulate learned groups like the Society of Antiquaries of London or Edinburgh and L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in France. As true disciples of the Enlightenment, they had unlimited faith in the power of knowledge and reason. They were interested in all fields of learning—the arts, humanities, sciences, and especially the social sciences. History and political science bore close relationship to the setting up of government in which they were engaged and to the vehement politics they practiced. The intellectual climate of that unspecialized day still allowed a bright and determined man to come close to becoming a universal scholar making significant contributions in many areas.

There was patriotism also. Intensified by recent successes against the powerful British Empire, the heady business of creating new governments, and the exuberant self-confidence of the westward-moving frontier, American nationalism was riding high. The entrepreneurs of the pioneering historical societies were determined to preserve the thrilling story of the rise of the republic and the individual states and to point out the factors

1860 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1944). On the Maryland Historical Society, see Brantz Mayer, *History, Possessions and Prospects of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore, 1867); Bernard C. Steiner, "Maryland History and the Maryland Historical Society," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIV (March, 1919), 10-26; Samuel K. Dennis, "A Brief Summary of the Maryland Historical Society's Hundred Years," *ibid.*, XXXIX (March, 1944), 1-5.

² Edgar W. Knight, ed., *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860* (5 vols.; Chapel Hill, 1949-53), II, 150-53.

that caused the American genius for self-government to flower. They were sure that America had a manifest destiny culturally as well as politically.

Brantz Mayer, while president of the Maryland Historical Society, made clear the high purposes of these organizations when he wrote in 1867:

We can hardly overestimate the worth of local institutions, which, in late years have done so much in rescuing our perishable records. They show us what we may be by disclosing what we have been; they brighten the dim memories of the statesmen and soldiers who strove to found a true republic; they cherish *a love of country* without which patriotism degenerates into "politics"; and while each of them strengthens and polishes its separate link, unitedly they guard the endless chain of national union.

The society founders were men of soaring imagination and restless energy. John Pintard of New York in 1789 urged the Rev. Jeremy Belknap of Boston to establish "an Antiquarian Society" and drew a plan for it. The Rev. Mr. Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard adapted this idea to local conditions in forming the Massachusetts Historical Society. Meanwhile, Pintard as Sagamore of the Society of Tammany (later Tammany Hall) in New York tried to add a historical library and museum to the social and charitable functions of that organization. Failing to obtain quarters in City Hall, he at last succeeded in organizing the New-York Historical Society. Isaiah Thomas, the Worcester patriot and publisher, observed these efforts closely and went on to found and become the first president of the American Antiquarian Society.⁸

These three institutions were built upon the principle of a limited membership, though the New York society did not, like the other two, constitute a virtual academy with membership a reward for merit in study, and writing history. As the historical society movement spread through the country, more democratic types of organization appeared that, as in Maryland, admitted to membership anyone interested in history. Chiefly in the Midwest, the societies even obtained support by state tax appropriations. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin was the first important institution to secure substantial and continuing state subsidization.

⁸ Boyd, *loc. cit.*, 10-19; Dunlap, *op. cit.*, 6-7; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 30; R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New-York Historical Society, 1804-1954* (New York, 1954), pp. 3-27.

Founded in 1846, it was reorganized seven years later by that driving collector and shrewd salesman of history, Lyman Copeland Draper.⁴

With their broad aspirations and interests, the early historical societies often embarked upon too ambitious and widely dispersed programs. In Boston, New York, Worcester, and New Hampshire (1823) their aims were national in scope, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1824) was the first state society to confine its purposes to state boundaries. Thus the object of the New-York Historical Society was "to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of this State in particular." The Society would "gratefully receive specimens of the various productions of the American Continent and of the adjacent Islands, and such animal, vegetable, and mineral subjects as may be deemed worthy of preservation."⁵

The Society in 1817 appointed special committees to collect materials in the fields of Zoology, Botany and Vegetable Physiology, Mineralogy and Fossils, and Coins and Medals. Some thirty years later, Dr. Nathan Jarvis deposited a splendid collection of the weapons, utensils, and costumes of the Plains Indians and various South American artifacts. Then in 1858 came the Lenox Collection of Nineveh Sculptures and in another two years Dr. Henry Abbott's Egyptian Collection. It included three huge mummies of the Sacred Bull, Apis. Thomas Jefferson Bryan's Collection of Christian Art when added in 1864 to earlier extensive American portraits and other paintings gave the Society the greatest gallery of European and American art in New York prior to the opening of the Metropolitan Museum in 1872.⁶

The charter of the Maryland Historical Society of 1844 defined its purpose as "collecting, preserving, and diffusing information relating to the civil, natural, and literary history of this State, and to American history and biography generally." With the closing of Peale's Baltimore Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts in the late 1820s, the Society decided to broaden its aims to

⁴ Edward P. Alexander, *What Should Our Historical Society Do?*, American Association for State and Local History, *Bulletin*, I (Washington, D. C., 1941); William B. Hesseltine, *Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1954).

⁵ Boyd, *loc. cit.*, 19-21; Vail, *op. cit.*, 451, 454.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 52-53, 93, 108-11, 126-28.

include an Art Gallery that would foster "the improvement of the taste of the public in regard to Art, as well as the occupation and amusement of its idle hours." It was agreed, though, that "the Gallery shall be kept in its subordinate relation: that it should not swallow up the Historical Society." The Society purchased copies of European masterpieces, held exhibitions of contemporary art, and was Baltimore's true art center until the 1890s. Ultimately the Walters Gallery and the Baltimore Museum of Art took over the art museum function.⁷

The early historical societies emphasized the collection of library materials and the dissemination of history through meetings and publications. Jeremy Belknap set standards that are still admirable today when he remarked in 1791: "We intend to be an *active*, not a *passive*, literary body; not to lie waiting, like a bed of oysters, for the tide (of communication) to flow in upon us, but to *seek* and *find*, to *preserve* and *communicate* literary intelligence, especially in the historical way." When he was on the trail of the manuscripts of Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, Governor Hancock, and Sam Adams, he added: "There is nothing like having a *good repository*, and keeping a *good look-out*, not waiting at home for things to fall into the lap, but prowling about like a wolf for the prey."⁸

The accounts of some of the early New-York Historical Society meetings make amusing reading today. On one occasion William Cullen Bryant was presiding and had dozed off when the speaker concluded by reading lines from Bryant's poem, "Thanatopsis." The applause awakened the poet who joined in it vigorously. Another eye-witness description of a young lady who went to the meetings with her father runs:⁹

They were attended by a few very old gentlemen, who all went to sleep in the course of the lectures . . . and I happened to catch the lecturer's eye as he glanced over his audience. Without changing his "lecturing voice," he said, "As you are the only person awake in the room, with your kind permission I will omit the next ten pages," which he did, and concluded rather abruptly.

After the lectures we used to go down to the basement and sit on tombstones and marble sarcophagi and partake of what my father always

⁷ Steiner, *loc. cit.*, 10-26; Dunlap, *op. cit.*, 74; Anna Wells Rutledge, "Early Exhibitions of the Maryland Historical Society," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLII (June, 1947), 124-36.

⁸ Dunlap, *op. cit.*, 65.

⁹ Vail, *op. cit.*, 116-17.

called "a light collation." This consisted of the very best water-cress and lobster salad sandwich I ever ate, and cups of very hot, very strong chicken bouillon. All the old gentlemen, refreshed by their naps, became very lively and a good time was had by all!

There was much less emphasis on museum collection and display. Little knowledge of museums existed in the colonies when independence was declared. The British Museum was barely twenty years old, and the Louvre not open to the public until the rise of Napoleon. The only collections made by the colonists had been family portraits, furniture and silver, and an occasional curio cabinet. Outside the historical societies, a few museums were organized. The Library Society of Charles-Town began in 1773 to collect materials for a natural history of South Carolina and set up a public museum; thus the Charleston Museum is the oldest in the country. Charles Willson Peale's noble attempts after 1784 to show tastefully in his Philadelphia Museum "a world in miniature" including the bones of mammoths, mounted specimens of animals, birds, and insects, and the portraits he painted of the Founding Fathers was the exception to the usual cabinet of curiosities. Archaeological and ethnographical materials of the American Indian were also collected, the American Antiquarian Society, for example, sending expeditions to excavate the Ohio mounds.¹⁰

Mistakes in collecting plagued the societies. In 1847, the New-York Historical Society accessioned a bullet swallowed twice by a Revolutionary soldier. In 1855, the American Antiquarian Society accepted the jawbone and tusk of a wild hog that lived along the Potomac River in the early nineteenth century. The more discerning historical society officials tried to keep their collections free from such "antique trash." Christopher Columbus Baldwin, talented librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, declared it absurd "to pile up old bureaus and chests, and stuff them with old coats and hats and high-heeled shoes." The Massachusetts Historical Society in the 1830s deposited its natural history specimens with the Boston Museum of Natural History,

¹⁰ Francis Henry Taylor, *Babel's Tower: The Dilemma of the Modern Museum* (New York, 1945), pp. 18-20; Laurence Vail Coleman, *The Museum in America; a Critical Study* (3 vols.; Washington, D. C., 1939), I, 6-12; Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (2 vols.; Hebron, Connecticut, 1939; Philadelphia, 1947), I, 239-40, 248-56; II, 6-10; Dunlap, *op. cit.*, 19-20, 167-68.

and the New-York Historical Society took similar cooperative action with the Lyceum of Natural History.¹¹

The Chicago Historical Society in 1868 had many Civil War mementos including torn battle flags, Confederate knives called Southern toothpicks, the bronze eagle knocked off the flagstaff at Fort Sumter on the first shot, and Abraham Lincoln's favorite walking stick made from a rail he split. Twenty years later its collections included George Washington's razor, a lancet used to bleed him, and a black oak tree found eight feet below Halsted Street and Belden Avenue.¹²

In 1884, John Bach McMaster told the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: ¹³

Not many years since an Historical Society was commonly believed to differ but little from a dime museum. People believed its quarters to be a dingy room in an attic, and its treasures bullets from Bunker Hill and guns from Yorktown, arrowheads from Tippecanoe, books nobody ever read, and portraits, as like as two peas. . . . That there was anything lively and human about such societies was doubted. But this [he added tactfully], most happily, is so no longer.

By that time, however, a new kind of American historical museum was appearing. This was the historic house museum. In 1850 the Hasbrouck House at Newburgh, New York, built in 1727 and once the headquarters of General Washington, opened its doors to the public. Purchased by New York State the previous year, it was operated by local trustees. In 1859, the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union acquired Mount Vernon after both the federal government and the Commonwealth of Virginia had refused to do so. The determined and hard working group of women zealously set about furnishing Washington's plantation home authentically and placed it on public display. By 1876, Independence Hall, that precious shrine of the Declaration of Independence and the Liberty Bell, had become a public museum, and the centennial celebrations then starting did much to stimulate the historic house movement.

This kind of historical museum, while not suited for synoptic display of a series of objects, has many advantages in teaching

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

¹² Paul M. Angle, *The Chicago Historical Society, 1856-1956: An Unconventional Chronicle* (New York, 1956), pp. 53-55, 120.

¹³ Boyd, *loc. cit.*, 25.

history. The natural arrangement of authentic furnishings gives the visitor a feeling of realism and participation. Flickering candles and fragrant flowers heighten his sensory perception; he experiences a feeling of historical mood, a haunting impression of having passed this way before. The historic house put the old planless, dingy, and crowded historical society collection to shame.

In 1895, there were 20 historic houses open in the country, and in the next fifty years a tremendous growth took place until there were some 700. The chief cause was the Industrial Revolution bringing with it a new leisure and especially producing the automobile which opened the countryside to tourists. Another force was a heightened, more sophisticated concern for American national growth and world status that took new interest in American beginnings and basic principles.

With the founding of Colonial Williamsburg in 1926, whole historical villages appeared, either authentic historical restorations on the Williamsburg pattern or outdoor folk museums like Henry Ford's Greenfield Village. The folk museums often moved old structures to a spacious and beautiful setting; they took their models from Scandinavia where Artur Hazelius had pioneered in 1891 in establishing Skansen on a high bluff overlooking Stockholm. These historical villages used costumes and carriages, restaurants serving traditional foods, music and period plays, and other appealing devices to make history come to life.¹⁴

The National Park Service brought the federal government fully into the preservation movement with the Historic Sites Act of 1935 which declared it "a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States."¹⁵ In 1950, the historical and archaeological properties protected by the Park Service numbered 116 and had an annual visitation of about 12,500,000. Some of the states also have developed ambitious programs of historic preservation including New York, Ohio, Illinois, California, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. A central coordinating but nongovernment preservation

¹⁴ Edward P. Alexander, "Historical Restorations," in William B. Hesseltine and Donald R. McNeil, eds., *In Support of Clio: Essays in Memory of Herbert A. Kellar* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1958), pp. 195-204; Laurence Vail Coleman, *Historic House Museums; with a Directory* (Washington, D. C., 1933).

¹⁵ Ronald F. Lee, *United States: Historical and Architectural Monuments* (Mexico, D. F., 1951), p. 68.

agency appeared in 1949 in the National Trust for Historic Preservation which now has 259 member organizations.

Another contribution of the Park Service to the museum movement was the trailside or field museum, a series of outdoor displays built around a trail and interpreting the natural science and history of scenic and recreational areas. Begun at Yosemite Park, in 1921, it was largely an outcome of tourism and the automobile. This successful experiment caused state and local parks also to install trailside exhibits, such as the Bear Mountain Trailside Museums operated in the Palisades Interstate Park by the American Museum of Natural History and the branch trailsides of the Cleveland Museum of Natural History in the parks surrounding that city.¹⁶

Improvement in the indoor historical museum came with refinements in exhibition techniques. Through the nineteenth and into the first quarter of the twentieth century, display methods usually had been crude with visible storage the rule. Heavy cases were crowded to overflowing, poorly lighted, and inadequately labeled, and pictures were hung frame to frame and three or four rows deep. But a far-reaching change gradually took place in the underlying philosophy of the exhibit. When collection, curatorial care, and scholarship were the chief aims of the museum, glass cases filled with serried rows of objects were adequate enough. But as education and interpretation became important purposes, better display methods were imperative to tell the story. Storytelling—that is the important word—was the heart of the exhibit. Materials must have meaning and be attractively arranged with taste and showmanship. They needed to communicate with a broader audience—school children, family groups, casual vacationists, collectors, specialists, octogenarians.

Part of the revolution in display came from the series of World's Fairs that began with London's Crystal Palace Exposition of 1851 and has continued to the Atomium at Brussels in 1958. Spacious buildings and huge crowds demanded significant, uncluttered, and exciting exhibits with fewer objects per square yard. Part of the change was the influence of department stores and advertising, and more recently the application of modern art and industrial design. Architects, artists, and craftsmen began to work together

¹⁶ National Trust for Historic Preservation, *Primer for Preservation: A Handbook for Historic-House Keeping* (Washington, D. C., 1955); Coleman, *Museum in America*, I, 35-36, 54-58, 154-56; III, 567-72.

in the German *Werkbund* movement in 1907, and the Bauhaus School ultimately sought to synthesize technology and art. The more progressive art museums reflected the struggle between modern and traditional art, first underlined in America by the famed Armory Show of 1913. It brought radical European paintings like Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* to the notice of an aroused, if not disturbed, public. As a result of all these forces, museums are dealing with structure, space, form, color, and light as a unified, meaningful whole, not as unrelated elements. Exhibits are planted for the beholding eye as well as after the patterns of the objects themselves.¹⁷

The emphasis on exhibition and education threatens to change the very nature of the museum. Many institutions keep a large portion of their permanent collections in storage and bring them out in a constantly changing series of special displays. This dual arrangement of study collections and special exhibits began in the science museums in the 1860s, and the "New Museum Idea" slowly spread to other kinds of museums.¹⁸

Good storytelling also makes an orientation program desirable for a larger museum with complex holdings. A theme or overview, whether a special exhibit, talk, slide series, filmstrip, or motion picture, insures that the forest not be missed because of the trees. The new motion picture at Colonial Williamsburg with its especially constructed theatre and encompassing screen is perhaps the most spectacular orientation program in existence today. Even it backfires occasionally; visitors with limited time sometimes view the film but skip the historic buildings it is designed to introduce.

Another improved exhibit technique for the historical museum is the diorama. This miniature modeled group portrays some moment of history, preferably a dramatic one, with carefully scaled authentic detail of architecture, landscape, furnishings, and costume. The foreground in three dimensions blends almost imperceptibly into a painted background. The diorama springs immediately from the full-scale habitat group so frequently used in science museums after 1870. Its antecedents go back to the little figures found in Egyptian tombs, medieval religious modeled

¹⁷ Lothar P. Witteborg, "Design Standards in Museum Exhibits," *Curator*, I (January, 1958), 29-41; Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers* (New York, 1954), pp. 196-226.

¹⁸ Coleman, *Museum in America*, II, 249-51.

groups, the elaborate stage settings of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, German and Dutch doll houses, and the nineteenth-century peep shows. Another influence, the full-scale panorama or cyclorama, reached its peak in Franco-Prussian and Civil War battle scenes; those still to be seen at Gettysburg and Atlanta are in this tradition.¹⁹

The period room is another modern exhibition device. Closely akin to the authentically furnished room of a historic house or village, the period room is a convincing and unifying way of showing furniture and furnishings, that is, objects of the decorative arts. A New England kitchen was featured in the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, in 1876, and beautifully done period rooms were created after 1878 in museums at Nuremburg, Munich, and Zurich. Not until the American Wing was opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1924 did this kind of display become popular for American historical materials. Since that time many historical museums have installed period or authentically furnished rooms, and they have reached near-perfection in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, opened in Delaware in 1951.²⁰

Museums of science and industry have developed another kind of display sometimes adaptable to history museums. Visitors participate in the exhibits by pressing buttons to activate maps, models, or demonstrations; in the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry the visitor even "descends" in a cage in a coal mine and "rides" an electric car through the mine gallery to the face of coal being "cut" by machine. Many of these techniques originated with the famed Deutsches Museum opened at Munich in 1925.²¹

This brief recital of some of the new display techniques makes one realize how few historical museums employ modern methods. Though the most numerous kind of American museum with 1235 out of a total of about 2500 institutions in 1938,²² the historical museum is too often small, ill-financed, and antiquated, closer to the eighteenth-century cabinet of curiosities than to the dynamic teaching center demanded by the sophisticated modern visitor.

¹⁹ Ned J. Burns, "The History of Dioramas," *Museum News*, XVII, No. 16 (February 15, 1940), 8-12; Arthur Woodward, "Miniature Historical Dioramas: Their Construction and Use," *ibid.*, No. 11 (December 1, 1939), 8-10.

²⁰ Coleman, *Museum in America*, II, 266-71; Lynes, *op. cit.*, 238-42.

²¹ Coleman, *Museum in America*, I, 93-99.

²² *Ibid.*, I, 61-63.

In order to accomplish its mission of teaching historical perspective and inspiration, the historical museum must devise displays and activities close to life itself that will convey understanding and mood. The museum needs to select and define its field with care and to collect purposefully, not leaving its holdings to chance and the discards of community attics. A strong exhibition program, in every sense the heart of the museum function, must be devised. It should tell a clear and moving story, but be object centered. Long narrative labels have little part in the exhibit but can be incorporated in a publication that will serve as ambassador for the museum long after the exhibit has been dismantled.

The good museum must be thoughtful and careful about its program. It needs to re-examine its goals continually and to make objective checks to see whether its methods are effective. Sometimes enthusiasm, emotion, and good humor can make one think he is accomplishing more than a little cold-blooded testing will sustain. Not nearly enough research in audience reaction is done by any American historical museum. It is also easy for such institutions to fall into careless and superficial habits in setting up exhibits. The good historical museum demands sound historical research for its displays and activities, the same kind of scholarship that historians use in writing books even though, in the museum, it often takes a three-dimensional form instead of the printed page.

The ideal indoor historical museum is a beehive of community activity. The constantly changing series of special exhibits probes every phase of the community past in the light of today's interests and needs. Meeting activities are built about the exhibits, and their variety and versatile appeal are amazing. Special events long on showmanship and full of publicity value are planned for openings of exhibits, visiting speakers, panel discussions, concerts, films, radio and television programs, and meetings of hobby groups. The museum also supplements the curriculum of the elementary and secondary schools and attracts a continuous stream of lively but purposeful youngsters; they are prepared to get the most from their visits because their teachers have carefully supplied the background of book learning that makes the displays most intelligible. There may also be junior clubs meeting after school and on holidays, or in some fortunate localities a separate children's

museum devoted to junior interests. It is thrilling news that the Darnall Bequest will soon set up and endow a children's museum for the Maryland Historical Society.

The excellent historical museum will also have a strong extension program. The central museum may be able to take actual displays throughout the city—by traveling exhibits to the schools, by operation of historic houses or folk museums, or by building trailside displays in the city parks. Other extension devices include newspaper and magazine stories, books and pamphlets, slides, filmstrips, motion pictures, radio and television. Such techniques are not quite so real as the three-dimensional displays themselves, but the eloquent spoken word, the arresting, well-illustrated printed statement, and the realistic film image are still effective in reaching a larger audience than can normally be enticed within the museum's walls.

The future of the historical museum is most promising. Our country is experiencing a great boom in history. Because of it the beautiful illustrated magazine, *American Heritage*, can, in three years time, obtain a circulation of 300,000. Because of it an estimated 47,953,902 visits are made to historic sites and buildings in a single year!

The new leisure brings a new public to the historical museum, puzzled by the pace and problems of modern living and seeking balance and wisdom from their common American heritage. Individual historical museums are now attracting a million visitors yearly—at George Washington's Mount Vernon, at Colonial Williamsburg, at the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, or at Abraham Lincoln's home town of New Salem in Illinois. These eager visitors with their implicit faith in the American heritage offer great opportunities to our historical societies and museums.

In the first century of their existence, the historical societies failed to reach the American mass audience, chiefly because they were organized and conducted to appeal to antiquarians, historians, and connoisseurs, that is, to the initiated few. Charles Willson Peale and his sons did reach a larger public with their museums at Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. They displayed "the Wonderful Works of Nature" arranged according to the Linnaean system and the portraits of the great men and women of early American history.

The Peales pioneered in discovering sound museum techniques and procedures. They mounted and preserved birds, animals, and insects in realistic poses with carefully studied painted backgrounds as well as showing living animals and reptiles. They used lectures, magic lantern shows, and demonstrations to interpret their collections. They opened their museums at night, even developing pioneer systems of gas lighting at Baltimore and Philadelphia.

But this ingenuity came to naught, perhaps because the mass audience was not yet ready to appreciate and support three-dimensional education. The Peales tried to finance their ventures with 25-cent admission fees. In order to arouse and keep public interest, they employed "rational amusement" devices. Thus the museum in Philadelphia, to the delight of visiting farmers, depicted a five-legged, six-footed, two-tailed cow giving milk to a two-headed calf. At Baltimore crowds were drawn by an Italian magician, a troupe of Indians, and an armless woman who performed incredible stunts with instruments held between her teeth. Public interest in curiosities and freaks was exploited by Phineas T. Barnum and other ingenious and unscrupulous promoters. The dime museum and traveling circus did not hesitate to emphasize pure amusement or distort the natural or historical truth. Their competition was too much for the museums that had tried to sugar-coat pure science and historical heritage with rational amusement. They soon went bankrupt.²³

Today the situation has changed markedly. While there are still abundant tourist traps trying to collect easy money from the traveling public, both the public and museums have become more mature. Emphasis on truth and authenticity is appreciated today, and freaks no longer seem as amazing as they once did. Education has become a more serious matter, perhaps even necessary for survival, and the American public wants to understand, to take faith, and to be reassured. Historical societies and museums have a fresh chance in today's world, for history like art, as Gian-Carlo Menotti puts it, "should be an act of love toward humanity, not a specialized message to the initiated few."²⁴

²³ For the Peales, see Sellers, *op. cit.*, I, 248-56; II, 6-10, 100-101, 233, 300-303, 381; Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., "The Tribulations of a Museum Director in the 1820's," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIX (September, 1954), 214-22.

²⁴ Gian-Carlo Menotti, "Missionary Author," *New York Times*, March 6, 1955.

SOME BALTIMORE CITY PLACE NAMES

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

THE present article is concerned with the names of places on Jones's Falls, Baltimore City, and with the names of tributary streams, now covered over, between the Twenty-Ninth Street bridge and Charles Street. I shall also give some account of the fording-places of the Falls within this area.

The fords of Jones's Falls, within the Baltimore area, are, to some extent, the key to roads used by early settlers of this area, before the laying out of the town, and perhaps, also to Indian paths. From the point of view of the local historian they are far from negligible, and they possess considerable human interest. Between Twenty-Ninth Street and Bath Street there were three fords. The Falls was forded at the mouth of Sumwalt Run, in those days known as Edwards' Run, about 800 feet north of North Avenue bridge. Here Gilmor's Lane crossed the stream. Down the Falls there was a fording place called Rutter's Ford, between Maryland Avenue and Charles Street, which was where Hanson's Mill Road, later called Lanvale Road, crossed the Falls. The lowest ford on Jones's Falls was situated near where Bath Street intersects the Fallsway, a short distance above the head of the "canal," or cut-off, which late in the eighteenth century was dug through Steiger's Meadow. Here travellers on the road to Philadelphia forded the little river.¹ Jonathan Hanson's first mill, later called Moore's Mill, was built, before the founding of Baltimore Town, near this ford. This spot was at or near the head of tidewater on the Falls.² So far as we know, there is no contemporary mention of this ford,³ but its "existence" is not to be doubted.

¹ J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 32, 33.

² *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (Sept., 1924), 275, 388; XX (Mar., Dec., 1925), 45, 53, 386, 388.

³ This—it is not unlikely—was the ford which is mentioned in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Hale's Folly," laid out for Nicholas Hale, or Haile, February 19th, 1702, and described as situated "on the north side of Jones's Falls, beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the north side of the Roade leading from the said Hales plantation to the common Wadeing place of the said falls"

MOUNT ROYAL FORGE—MOUNT ROYAL MILL

Our Baltimorean love for the world "royal,"⁴ (whether it be merely local, or national, I do not know), as if we yearned for the good old days before 1776, owes much to Jonathan Hanson, the Quaker miller from Pennsylvania, for whom, on September 22, 1720, there was surveyed a tract of land, containing 340 acres, which he called "Mount Royal."⁵ The reason why he bestowed this particular name on this resurvey is no longer known. Certain it is that he had no idea of the extensive use which would one day be made of it, of which the end is not yet, or that what we now call the Mount Royal Area would take in much land outside the limits of the original "Mount Royal."

"Mount Royal" is a tract of land of irregular outlines, which is more or less roughly divided by North Avenue, lying on both sides of Jones's Falls, and extending down the Falls past Maryland Avenue, near to Charles Street.⁶ Mount Royal Avenue, west of Charles Street, Mount Royal Station, and Mount Royal Terrace all lie within its bounds.⁷

On October 11, 1753, an inquisition was held on behalf of the Baltimore [Iron Works] Company in order to obtain a writ of *ad quod damnum* on parts of certain adjacent tracts of land,

(Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber C. D., f. 167). The late Edward V. Coonan, Surveyor for Baltimore City, gave me the following information about the site of the beginning of "Hale's Folly," as located by Charles Dawson, Jr., in 1856. It stood on the present Polytechnic Institute grounds, near the north-west corner of North Avenue and North Street (now Guilford Avenue). Nicholas Hale, in 1701, was the owner of only one tract of land, namely, one half of "Merryman's Lot," which he took up with Charles Merryman, June 24th, 1688 (*ibid.*, Liber XXII, f. 438). Hale and Merryman divided this land, and Hale took that part which was later called Liliendale, and later still (1801), Homewood. Hale was living there when he made his will, and died in 1730. His son, Neale, owned the property for many years afterwards. If the modern Homewood (now the site of Johns Hopkins University), was the site of Hale's plantation in 1701, as I think it was, a road going thence past the beginning tree of "Hale's Folly" could not possibly have been bound for either of the two upper fords above mentioned, but it might easily have continued on to the east side of Jones's Falls and so on down the Falls to the lowest ford. It was probably a rolling road, which led to a landing on the Basin.

⁴ The Baltimore Telephone Directory for 1958 has sixty-four "Royals"—Royal this or that—not counting the Mount Royals, of which there are eight.

⁵ Land Office of Maryland, Patented Certificate No. 3407, Baltimore County. "Mount Royal" is a resurvey on a tract of land, containing 200 acres, called "Saint Mary Bourne" or "Saint Mary Bow" (a London name), laid out for George Hickson, May 20th, 1669, *ibid.*, Liber XII, f. 276.

⁶ See "Map of the Original Tracts of Land Included within the Present Limits of Baltimore," in Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Phil., 1881).

⁷ The Mount Royal Hotel stands on "Salisbury Plains."

situated on Jones's Falls, whereon it was proposed to erect a forge mill.⁸ In this way the company acquired 100 acres, including about 38 acres, part of "Mount Royal."⁹ The proposed forge was probably built soon afterwards, and became known as the Mount Royal Forge, but was sometimes called Franklin's Forges.¹⁰ A tract of land, lying adjacent to the forge property, called "Ivy Hills," containing 54 acres, was taken up by the company, under the name of Charles Carroll, Esq., and Company, in November of the same year.¹¹

On July 8, 1785, there appeared in the *Maryland Journal* an advertisement which announced the coming sale of the properties of the Baltimore Company, comprising 4650 acres of land, and including: "Three small tracts lying round the Old Mount Royal Forge, on both sides of Jones's Falls, about 1½ miles from sd. town [Baltimore], containing 250 acres." The advertisement continues: "On this land are three excellent mill seats, on one of which stands the old forge, with other considerable improvements. About one third of these tracts are very well wooded; but what adds exceedingly to their value: there are a considerable number of quarries of excellent stone for building."

A plat, styled "Plat of the Baltimore Company's Land at Mount Royal Forge," was made by Cornelius Howard, and dated August 27, 1785.¹² The property was divided into sixteen lots,

⁸ Land Office of Maryland, Chancery Proceedings, Liber I. R. No. 5, f. 98 *et seq.*

⁹ See Dr. Charles Carroll's "Collection of Land Certificates Chiefly in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties," f. 487, for a description of the survey, MS, Md. Hist. Soc. One of the "calls" is the mouth of Edwards Run (Sumwalt Run). The survey is styled "Baltimore Company's forge, Jones's Falls."

¹⁰ Mention of the Mount Royal Forge near Baltimore Town will be found in the *Maryland Journal*, June 24, 1777, October 30, 1781. On October 23, James Franklin advertised in this newspaper for the return of a mulatto servant named Will, "run away from the Mount Royal Forges near Baltimore Town." In March 14, 1780, there is mention in the *Maryland Journal* of the plantation of John Ensor "3 miles from Baltimore on the falls above Franklin's Forge." Among the Dulany Papers, in the Md. Hist. Soc., there is a letter from D. Dulany to [?], March 9, 1798, saying in part: "The books were Burnt at Franklins Forge I have been told." Testifying, Dec. 17, 1787, in the suit of Josias Pennington against Benjamin Griffith, John Weston, an iron master, said he had known Pennington 17-18 years, during which time he had resided "at a place of his own near Franklin Forges" (Land Office of Maryland, Chancery Proceedings, Liber 30, f. 19.) Pennington owned a small piece of land at the mouth of Stony Run, then called Ensor's Run or Union Run. This run was so named for John Ensor (see above), whose lands were situated on it.

¹¹ Dr. Charles Carroll's Collection of land Certificates, *ibid.*, f. 427.

¹² The author has a copy of this plat, which was kindly given to him by the late Edward V. Coonan. In a letter, dated October 30, 1943, Mr. Coonan informed me that the plat is filed among the Bouldin Plats, 12th Ward Division, Office of Plans and Surveys, Municipal Building, Baltimore.

the bounds of which are indicated on the plat. Also indicated thereon are: Ensor's Run (Stony Run) and Edwards Run (Sumwalt Run), discharging into the Falls on its eastern side; also the lower courses of Lawson's Run (Rutter's Run) and Spicer Run, above their junction. All of these considerable streams are now covered over, except Stony Run. The structures apparently belonging to the forge are nine in number. One stands besides the mill-race, and is probably the forge itself. A road styled "Furnace Road" runs east through the property to the mill race, where it turns north and runs along the western side of the Falls. Most of the forge buildings stand in "Mount Royal." In modern terms, they were situated between Jones's Falls and Mount Royal Terrace, north of the site of the Mount Royal Reservoir. The mouth of the mill-race is about two hundred yards above the mouth of Edward's Run, on the opposite side of the Falls. To account for the name of "Furnace Road" we infer that there was both a forge and a furnace on the Mount Royal Forge property. So much for Mount Royal Forge.

The chief interest which attaches to the old Mount Royal flour mill is due to the distinguished men who, at one time or another, owned or had an interest in it: Dr. Solomon Birkhead, William Patterson, General John Stricker, and Governor William Bradford. It must have been a rather massive building; built of stone, two stories high, with a hipped roof, and measuring 51 × 41 feet.¹³ It stood on the west side of Jones's Falls, a short distance above the mouth of Sumwalt Run.¹⁴ There is little doubt that it derived its power from the old mill-dam and mill-race of the Mount Royal Forge. In 1833, when it belonged to Bradford, it had a capacity of 15,000 barrels of flour per annum.¹⁵ The land on which Mount Royal Mill stood was acquired by Messrs. William Taggert and George Legatt, operating under the name

¹³ Particular Tax List of Middlesex Hundred, Baltimore County, 1798: Solomon Burkhard (*sic*), *Mount Royal*. Besides the mill, there is mention of seven houses. These must have been leftovers from the old Mount Royal Forge days.

¹⁴ James Kearney, "Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and its Vicinity made by order of Brigadier General Winder, 1814," copy in Md. Hist. Soc., shows "Stricker's mill" on the west side of Jones's Falls, a short distance above the mouth of Sumwalt Run (not named).

¹⁵ Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833), p. 96, *et seq.*: Jones's Falls and its mills. In the *Federal Gazette*, May 18, 1798, Solomon Birkhead offers this mill for sale, describing it as situated two miles from Baltimore, and commanding a powerful stream of water. The mill house is described as "large," and the mill had two water wheels and two pairs of burr stones.

of Legatt & Co., in the year 1795, and sold the same year to Birckhead.¹⁶ How explain, then, that the mill was already in Dr. Birckhead's possession by 1794?¹⁷ In 1802, he entered into a contract to sell the mill and the land belonging to it to William Patterson.¹⁸ In 1815 he conveyed the property to Stricker (who was already in possession), with allowance for Patterson's interest.¹⁹ In his will, 28 February, 1828, Stricker mentions a contract, by which he was bound, to sell his mill property to his son-in-law, Bradford.²⁰ I have not followed the history of Mount Royal merchant mill farther than 1833. It actually begins in, or before,

¹⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. Q. Q., f. 565: Charles Carroll & Company to George Leggitt, 1795; Liber W. G. No. R. R., f. 552: George Leggitt to Solomon Birckhead, 1795. As we shall see later, the Mount Royal Mill was already, by 1791, in occupation of Mr. Leggitt. There is a deed, dated February 7, 1801, whereby Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Esq., sold to Solomon Birckhead, merchant, certain lots acquired under a writ of *ad quod damnum* (this refers to the Mount Royal forge property), and "Ivy Hills," in all 92½ acres (Liber W. G. No. 65, f. 503). According to my calculations, the mansion built by Dr. Birckhead, which is still standing, corner of Park Avenue and Reservoir streets, was built on "Ivy Hills." The late Christiana Bond, his great-granddaughter, is the authority for the statement that "Mount Royal" was built in 1786, Christiana Bond, "Mount Royal and Vicinity," *The Mount Royal Garden Blue Book* (Baltimore, 1937), p. 167. Certain it is that this stately house was standing by 1798. In a Particular Tax List of Middlesex Hundred, Baltimore County, it is described as follows: "Solomon Brickhead, Mount Royal, stone dwelling, 2 story, 54 × 23. Addition of stone, 31 × 18." Among the out-buildings was a round milk-house, 1 story, ten feet in diameter. In 1852 the Mount Royal farm contained 80 acres, and belonged to Dr. Birckhead's son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Emerson Bond. T. H. Poppleton, *Plan of the City of Baltimore, 1852*. In his will, 21 May, 1734, Dr. Birckhead leaves to his daughter, Christiana Bond, for life, his lands at Mount Royal, whereon he formerly resided, on Jones's Falls, "and adjoining the mill and lands I sold to General John Stricker which lands and tenements I bought of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, William Taggart and George Leggett, Alexander Lawson [this refers to part of "Newington"] and the Baltimore Company (Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 16, f. 167).

¹⁷ According to an advertisement in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, June 16, 1794, a millwright was wanted at Doctor Birckhead's mill on Jones's Falls, Bazil Lucas, manager.

¹⁸ Liber W. G. No. 174, f. 54: Birckhead to Patterson, 10 Dec., 1802, two tracts of land, containing 10½ and 3 acres, respectively, "part of a tract of land surveyed for Charles Carroll, Esquire, and Company, by a writ of *ad quod damnum* for Iron Works, together with the mill and other buildings and improvements thereon."

¹⁹ Liber W. G. No. 132, f. 53: Birckhead to Stricker, 10 August, 1815. General Stricker already had an interest in the property. In the *Federal Gazette*, Baltimore, June 14, 1810, there is published an Act "to prevent pollution of Jones's Falls between Stricker's and Patterson's mill and the pumping house of the Water Company. It was forbidden to build "necessaries" near the Falls; dead animals were not to be left on the banks, and no swimming or bathing in the stream was permitted. In the *Baltimore American*, June 13, 1814, there is offered a reward for the return of a stray cow, lost near Fall's Turnpike Gate near "Stricker's Mill." We have already mentioned the fact that Stricker's mill is indicated on Kearney, "Sketch, 1814."

²⁰ Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 12, f. 143.

1791, when, as we shall presently see, George Legatt was already in possession of the mill, and it was styled "Legatt's mill." The story of the laying-out of the the Falls Road brings out this fact.

We quote in part from an Act of the Maryland Assembly, A. D. 1791:

Whereas Elisha Tyson, William and Charles Jessop, John Ellicott and George Legett, of Baltimore County, have by their petition to the General Assembly, set forth that they have no permanent public road from their mill-seats ²¹ on Jones's Falls in the said County, to Baltimore Town, ²² etc. The petitioners pray that a road be laid out from the said Ellicott's mill seat to Elisha Tyson's mill on the said Falls, from thence to the mill of the said William and Charles Jessop, from thence to the mill of John Baxley, ²² from thence to the fording place on the said Falls next below the mill of the said George Leggett, and from thence to Baltimore Town, etc. Be it enacted that Robert Long et. al. are hereby authorized to lay out a road not exceeding forty feet wide, from Ellicott's mill-seat on Jones's Falls by Tyson's Mill, from thence to Jessop's mill, from thence to Baxley's mill, from thence to the fording place on Jones's Falls next below Legett's mill, and from thence near the east corner of the poor house ground.²³

In 1804 the Maryland Assembly passed an act to incorporate the Falls Turnpike Road, which reads as follows:

²¹ There was, at that time, a road from the Mount Royal Forge direct to Baltimore Town. On Cornelius Howard's plan of the forge property as laid out into lots, 1785 (see above), it is styled "Road to Town." It meets the Furnace Road some fifty perches west of the mill race. Elsewhere it is called "the road to the stone quarries" and "the Mill Road."

²² I can not identify Baxley's mill. There was a mill called Union Mill, on Stony Run, a short distance above its mouth. This may have been Baxley's but I have a quantity of records relating to Union Mill and his name does not appear therein. Jessup's mill was the well-known Rock Mill, on Jones's Falls, a short distance above the mouth of Stony Run. Elisha Tyson's mill was at Woodberry. A particular Tax List of Middlesex Hundred, Baltimore County, for 1799, has: "Elisha Tyson, Woodberry, brick mill house, two story, 43 × 43 feet." In the *Federal Gazette*, February 2, 1799, there is advertised to let Woodberry Mills, four miles from the city, on Jones's Falls. Applicants were advised to apply to Messrs. Tyson and Norris, or to Wm. Norris jun., & Co. I am not perfectly sure about John Ellicott's mill, but believe it was the mill called White Hall Mill. In 1799, according to a Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, Messrs. [Philip] Rogers and Owings were the owners of White Hall Mill. James Ellicott was the "occupant," i. e., the miller. A note attached to the record reads: "This property sold to Ja.^s Ellicott." The mill house was of stone, two stories, 70 × 30 feet. *A Complete View of Baltimore*, by Varle (1833), shows White Hall Merchant Mill, next above Rock Merchant Mill, and described as "Property of Messrs. Ellicott." James Slade, *Plan of Baltimore and Vicinity Showing the Proposed Routes for Bringing Water from the Jones's and Gwynn's Falls & the Patapsco River* (1853), shows White Hall Factory between Mount Vernon Factory and Woodberry Factory.

²³ Frederick Green, printer, *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1802), Ch. XXX. The poor house, built about 1771, and pulled down about 1832 when the land was divided into lots, stood across Hamilton Terrace. The east corner of the poor house ground should be on or near the site of the Richmond Market and Armory.

An Act to incorporate a company to make a turnpike road to lead from the cross roads near Richard Caton's limekiln,²⁴ in Baltimore County, nearly in the direction of Jones's Falls, to the City of Baltimore, beginning for the same at the ford by Messieurs Patterson & Stricker's Mill & running thence northerly on and as near to the said Falls as may be found practicable for a good road & passing over the Bare Hills to the westward of Benjamin Bowen's House, until it reaches the bend, running westerly on or near the land of Job Hunt,²⁵ & from thence to the cross roads by the limekiln of Richard Caton.²⁶

In 1805 the Maryland Assembly passed a supplementary act in order to enable the Falls Turnpike Company "to open a road on the east side of Jones's Falls towards Old-town by passing from the ford by Messrs. Patterson and Stricker's Mill to the stone bridge opposite to the mill of Josias Pennington."²⁷

Such were the beginnings of the Falls Road. The ford above mentioned was called Stricker's Ford.²⁸ Kearney's military map of 1814, which we mentioned above (note 14) shows a bridge over the Falls at the mouth of Edwards's Run (Sumwalt Run), where the ford was situated.

In November, 1799, the Maryland Assembly passed an act to divide Baltimore County into districts to replace the old "hundreds." District No. 2 is therein defined as follows (notices in *Baltimore American* and *Federal Gazette*, August 26, 1800): "To begin on Jones's Falls at the old Road above Rutter's Mill (formerly Hanson's)²⁹ at the mouth of Edwards's Run, then with the said Road to the York Turnpike near Christopher Walker's," etc.³⁰ This old road at one time went by the name of "Harry

²⁴ On the Brooklandwood estate. Caton was the son-in-law of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

²⁵ Hunt owned lands now part of Ruxton.

²⁶ *Laws of Maryland* (1804), Ch. XCI.

²⁷ *Laws of Maryland* (1805), Ch. XLVII. Pennington's mill was situated on Jones's Falls, near the Biddle Street bridge.

²⁸ So named on a plat, dated Nov. 26, 1805, and styled "Plot of roads north from Baltimore." This plat is the work of Samuel Green, Deputy Surveyor, Baltimore County, and will be found among the Bayard Papers, Md. Hist. Soc. On it we find: "Stricker's ford," a short distance below Stricker & Co. mill. On the eastern side of the Falls the Falls Turnpike (so designated) is shown, as it turns north along the Falls. On its western side the Falls are the goal of a road styled "the Road to the Stone Quarries," which runs northwards from the eastern corner of the Poor House ground, at Richmond (now Read) Street. This was also called "the Mill Road."

²⁹ Rutter's Mill, of which presently, stood on the north side of Jones's Falls, close to Maryland Avenue, the former Decker Street.

³⁰ Acts of the Maryland Assembly, November Session, 1799.

Dorsey Gough's road."³¹ but was later called Gilmor's Lane, later still, Vineyard Lane. Its intersection with the York Road is opposite St. John's Church, Huntington,³² or, in modern terms, half a block below Thirtieth Street.

SPICER'S RUN—RUTTER'S RUN

To one who will station himself on Lafayette Avenue and look down over the forlorn and litter-sprinkled squares of Eutaw Place to the hollow of McMechen Street, and up to the heights of North Avenue, or will look northwards from Lafayette Avenue up and down Linden Avenue, where the underprivileged dwell, or, standing beside the dear, old, wizened church will survey Bolton Street's neat houses, homes of a distinguished, if wistful, gentility—to such a one it will be difficult to realize that this was once a fair valley, intersected by a clean, bold stream, which gathered volume and force from many a tributary spring, on its way to Jones's Falls.

A stream of water, visible from the North Avenue bridge over Jones's Falls, issues from a tunnel, about a city block beyond the eastern end of Mosher Street. It winds around to the south, and goes under the Howard Street bridge, to empty into the Falls. This is Spicer's Run. Formerly it ran straight from the tunnel east to the Falls.³³

Spicer's Run,³⁴ nearly to its source, is shown on Warner and

³¹ So called on Samuel Green's Plat, 1805 (Note 28). Harry Dorsey Gough, Esq., of "Perry Hall," owned "Huntington," and "developed" part of it.

³² G. W. Bromley & Co., *Atlas of Baltimore*, 1896, plates 15 and 18, shows Gilmor Lane (so called), from the intersection of Saint Paul and Twenty-Seventh Streets to the York Road, crossing the northwest corner of the Samuel Brady estate. T. E. Sickles, *Map of the City of Baltimore and Part of Baltimore County*, 1852, shows Gilmor Lane (not named), from Jones's Falls to the York Road, at St. John's Church, Huntington, passing, about mid-way, the "Grounds" of the Maryland Agricultural Society. Fielding Lucas, *Map of Baltimore City*, 1853, shows the old road leaving the Falls and ascending the valley of Edwards's Run (not named) from its mouth, crossing the run four times, thence proceeding north-easterly nearly to the York Road, past the Agricultural Society's farm, and intersecting the York Road at the church. This road got its name of Vineyard Lane from "The Vineyard," the estate of William Stevens Whiteley, whose mansion stood on the north side of the lane, east of Guilford Avenue.

³³ This fact may be observed from a water color "perspective" for a proposed North Avenue bridge, designed by Hutton and Murdoch, 1767. It is also observable on Warner and Hanna's *Map of Baltimore*, 1801. The Hutton and Murdoch "perspective" is reproduced in *Maryland History Notes*, VI, No. 3, (November, 1948), 1.

³⁴ This is the name which I find on Cornelius Howard's *Plan of the Baltimore*

Hanna's *Map of Baltimore*, 1801. Somewhat shortened, it is shown on James Kearney's "Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and Vicinity, 1814." I estimate the length of Spicer's Run to be about a mile and half, and the combined area of its watershed and that of its tributary, Rutter's Run, to be four hundred acres, more or less. The width of its valley (including Rutter's Run) is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile.

Spicer's Run rises in what was once a swamp, at the corner of Druid Hill Avenue and Druid Hill Park, and flows between Druid Hill Avenue and Division Street to North Avenue. There, at North Avenue, the "fill" is about fifty feet deep. From North Avenue southwards to Laurens Street, where the run begins to turn towards the east until it reached McMechen Street, Spicer's Run flows between Druid Hill Avenue and Division Street. Years ago, houses on the west side of Druid Hill Avenue above North Avenue were two stories higher on their western sides than they were in front.³⁵ In its original state, Spicer's Run, in its lower course, seems to have flowed through a deep and narrow hollow. The "Frick's Folly" houses (northern half of 1500 block, Park Avenue, west side) have subcellars; the remaining houses of the block have none. Tests, taken in connection with the foundations of the new school, McMechen, John and Mosher Streets, and Rutters Alley, bear out these facts.³⁶

Writing in the *Evening Sun*, Baltimore, October 7, 1939, under the title "Some Notes on Lanvale Street," the late Latrobe Weston says in part:

"John Street [within Mr. Weston's memory] was carried from Mosher Street to McMechen Street over a deep ravine by an embankment so narrow as to allow of the passage of only one wheeled vehicle at the time. The landscape on either side was desolate and forbidding. At the bottom of the ravine, some forty or fifty feet below the roadway, flowed a sluggish stream of sewage [*sic*], passing under the embankment through an arched

Company's Lands at Mount Royal, mentioned above. It is appropriate, and I dare say it was once in general use; but mention of this stream by any name is rare. I believe I have heard it referred to as Frick's Run, but have no record of that name.

³⁵ Testimony of the late Mr. Milton Oler, Sr., given to the author, in August, 1939, when he was sixty-seven years old. Mr. Oler was born and brought up near North and Pennsylvania Avenues.

³⁶ For this information I am indebted to Mr. W. Watters Pagon, consulting engineer. His letter to this effect bears date, October 27, 1928.

culvert and winding down on the east to Jones's Falls."³⁷ This refers to the seventies and eighties of the past century.

One of the primitive aspects peculiar to this valley seems to have been a great glade³⁸ or open space. So it appears from the will of John Spicer, who, on January 1, 1727, less than two years before the laying out of Baltimore Town, took up 100 acres of vacant land, which he called "Spicer's Inheritance."³⁹ In his will, January 1, 1738, John Spicer mentions "the Great Glaid branch" four times by name, bequeathing to his son, Thomas, said son's dwelling plantation, being all of "Spicer's Inheritance lying on the north side of the said branch," and to his son, Edward, after the decease of testator's wife, his (testator's) dwelling plantation, on the southern side of the same stream.⁴⁰ In this way, from John Spicer and his family, Spicer's Run got its name.⁴¹

The laying out or tracing of streets in what we now call the

³⁷ I believe that Mr. Weston's memory of this feature of the John Street landscape is absolutely correct; but I am at a loss to explain why it is not illustrated on E. Sachse, *Panoramic View of the City of Baltimore*, 1869, on which we see the run emerging from a sewer (The McMechen street sewer or tunnel), between John Street and site of Mount Royal Avenue, from which point the stream makes its way east, to, and under the Northern Central Railroad tracks; thence to Jones's Falls. Between the run and the site of North Avenue we see a farm, the same as that mentioned by Miss Christiana Bond in her recollections of this neighborhood (see above).

³⁸ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the primary meaning of "glade" seems to be *a sunny place*. It means "a clear, open space or passage in a wood or forest, whether natural or produced by the cutting down of trees." It occurs to me that in the present instance the "glade" might have been the site of an old beaver pond, but I dare say this explanation will appear to be pretty far fetched.

³⁹ Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber I. L. No. D, f. 343. "Spicer's Inheritance" is a long and narrow tract of land. Its southernmost boundary is at or near the corner of Read and Cathedral Streets. Its northernmost boundary cannot be far from the intersection of Madison Avenue and Presstman Street (subject to correction).

⁴⁰ Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 1, f. 312. Spicer's Run crosses the western side of "Spicer's Inheritance" at, or not far from, the intersection of McMechen Street and Eutaw Place. Thence east, along the run, present McMechen Street, was approximately the boundary which the testator, Spicer, intended.

⁴¹ Thomas Spicer (will proved, 9 March, 1748) leaves his part of "Spicer's Inheritance" (not named) to his son John Spicer, after the death of his wife, Rebecca Spicer. He mentions another son, Valentine Spicer, Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 1, f. 434. According to a tax list of Middlesex Hundred, Baltimore County, 1783, Rebecca Spicer owned 25 acres, part of "Spicer's Inheritance." The residue belonged to the heirs of James Richards. John Spicer's will was dated, 10 April, 1782, and proved 15 Jan., 1788. (Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 4, f. 289). He divides his part of "Spicer's Inheritance" among his sister, Eleanor Taylor, his nephew Valentine Spicer, his wife, Janet Spicer and his brother, Valentine Spicer. I have no record of any Spicer as owner of part of "Spicer's Inheritance" after 1796, but small parcels of it may have remained in the family in the female lines, until after 1800.

Mount Royal Area in the late 1840's made necessary the building of bridges over Spicer's Run (by then apparently no longer so called). May 24, 1852, the City Council voted "to have a bridge erected over the run in the bed of Grundy Street north of Mosher Street."⁴² March 11, 1853, the council voted to finish the said bridge. Grundy Street is now called Bolton. June 9, 1853, the council voted to erect a bridge "over the run in the bed of Garden Street between Mosher and McMakin [*sic*] Street."⁴³ A stone tunnel in the bed of McMechen Street was already under way in 1854, between Madison Street and Garden Street (Linden Avenue).⁴⁴ The following year the Council made provision for "tunnels" under Grundy Street and John Street and three alleys. Owners of adjacent properties were required to "tunnel their portion down to the building line of said streets." The heirs of Judge Frick were required to "open an air line water course to the mouth of the small tunnel which passes under the Susquehanna Rail Road."⁴⁵

On March 24, 1887, an ordinance of the City Council made provision "to complete the sewers known as the Mosher Street sewer and the Rutter's Run sewer by extending the same to their junction under the culvert of the Northern Central Railway."⁴⁶ It was only in 1887 that the two streams, Rutter's and Spicer's Run, disappeared for all time under Mount Royal Avenue.

In an interesting article, which appeared in this magazine in 1931, under the title, "Mount Royal and Its Owners," Ella K. Barnard makes the following interesting remarks concerning Rutter's Run, which she does not name:

What is now North Avenue was formerly a deep ravine, down which in the memory of the oldest citizens a good sized stream was flowing. Some years ago when the sewer was laid there, forty feet under ground, stumps of good sized trees were found.⁴⁷

On Warner and Hanna's Map Rutter's Run (not named) is shown, emptying into Spicer's Run (not named), something less than a hundred yards above the mouth of that stream. I had it

⁴² James Lucas, printer, *Ordinances . . . 1852* (Baltimore, 1852), No. 107.

⁴³ *Journal, First Branch of the City Council*, 1852 (Baltimore, 1852), p. 629. *Ordinances*, 1853, No. 18.

⁴⁴ *Journal, Second Branch of the City Council*, 1854, p. 562.

⁴⁵ *Ordinances*, 1855, p. 158, Resolution No. 159.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1887, No. 14.

⁴⁷ *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (Dec. 1931), 312.

from the late Mr. Milton Oler (mentioned above), whom I interviewed in 1939 concerning his recollections of this neighborhood, that the source of Rutter's Run was a very big spring, situated at the intersection of North Avenue and Bolton Street. There, so he told me, the "fill" is twenty feet deep, or more. North of this place was a tract of woodland called Callow's Woods.

Rutter's Run, as we have already observed, was formerly called Lawson's Run. It derived its name from the Lawson family, which owned "Newington" (*q. v.*).⁴⁸ The name, Lawson's Run, appears on Cornelius Howard's plan of the Mount Royal Forge property, 1785.

NEWINGTON

"Newington," an extensive resurvey on earlier tracts of land, which includes the eastern side of Druid Hill Park, was laid out for Alexander Lawson, Jr., May 21, 1785.⁴⁹ The original surveys were mostly acquired by his father, Alexander Lawson, Sr.,⁵⁰ from the executors of John Gardiner, January 14, 1741.⁵¹ Before the resurvey was made the place already bore the name of Newington, as we learn from an advertisement in the *Baltimore American* of August 8, 1883, wherein Mr. Lawson announces that he is laying off Newington in lots of from one to ten acres, to be offered on lease of 99 years. He describes the place as the site of his former residence.⁵² Newington Avenue, a street only three

⁴⁸ From John Street, or thereabouts, west, to the western side of Pennsylvania Avenue, North Avenue lies on "Newington." East of John Street or thereabouts to Jones's Falls North Avenue lies on "Mount Royal."

⁴⁹ Land Office of Maryland, Patented Certificate No. 3505, Baltimore County. The resurvey, which contained 482¾ acres, was composed of "Hap Hazard," "Happy Be Lucky," part of "Spicer's Stony Hills" and part of "Daniel's Whimsey."

⁵⁰ Alexander Lawson, son of James Lawson, of Banff, Scotland, was born about 1710, and was married, Nov. 13, 1735, aged 25, to Dorothy Smith, daughter of Walter Smith, of Calvert County, Maryland. (Lawson Bible). He was an eminent iron master, and one time manager of the Nottingham Iron Works. In the *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1752, is the notice of the tragic death of his three daughters, "who fell into the Furnace Pond at his Iron Works in Baltimore County." Alexander Lawson, Jr. his son, was born at the Baltimore Iron Works, Jan. 4, 1740, Lawson Bible. Alexander Lawson, Sr., died in Baltimore Town, October 14, 1760. Alexander Lawson, Jr., married, January, 1763, Elizabeth Brown, daughter of Charles Brown, of Queen Anne's County, Md., Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc. She died "near Baltimore," January 11, 1814, *ibid.* He died, 11 Sept., 1798. He was Clerk of Baltimore County Court, *ibid.*

⁵¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. B. No. A, f. 66.

⁵² A Particular Tax List of Middlesex Hundred, Baltimore County, 1798, shows the following persons holding lots in Newington: Zepheniah Chany, Henry Stouffer, Anthony Kimmil, Henry Carson, John Dixon, Alexander Mucklevans, Frederick

blocks long, is the only remaining street name which reminds us of the Lawsons.⁵³ Formerly there was Lawson's Lane, which ran through Druid Hill Park from a point on Druid Hill Avenue to the south east line of St. Paul's Lutheran Cemetery in the Park, back of the sheepfold.⁵⁴ The lower part of Lawson's Lane was closed in 1878.⁵⁵

LANVALE—RUTTER'S FORD—PORCOSEN RUN

Lanvale appears to be a Welsh place-name.⁵⁶ Originally (*i. e.*, in Baltimore) it was applied to a part of "Mount Royal" situated on both sides of Decker Street, now Maryland Avenue, below North Avenue, and bounding on the northern and eastern sides of the Falls, whereon were situated the Lanvale factory and Rutter's grist mill. Illustrated on the cover of this magazine is a wash drawing from the Fielding Lucas, Jr., sketch book,⁵⁷ styled "Lanvale," showing a water mill, identified as Rutter's mill (which stood on the north side of the Falls, a little up-stream from the Maryland Avenue bridge) and the mouth of a stream identified as Porcosen Run (later called Brady's Run), which emptied into the Falls a short distance below this bridge, close above Charles Street. The artist has shortened the distance between the tributary stream and the mill. The stream at its mouth is crossed by a paling water-fence, which joins, on either side, post and rail fences. The landscape in the distance is that of the area now bounded by North Avenue, the Falls and St. Paul Street. This drawing is not dated.⁵⁸

Pratt, Joseph Young, Philemon Dorsey, Robert Taylor, Mathias Baker and Sarah Lawson, widow. Warner and Hanna's Map shows the residences of Messrs. Stouffer, Kimmil, Baker, Chany and Taylor, on or near the Reistertown Road (now Pennsylvania Avenue), not far above or below the site of its intersection with North Avenue.

⁵³ The first street north of Reservoir Street, Brookfield Avenue to Mount Royal Terrace.

⁵⁴ J. V. Kelly, *Public Parks of Baltimore, No. 3, Druid Hill Park* (compiled for Baltimore commissioners, 1928), p. 9. Lawson's Lane was later called Newington Avenue (not to be confused with the present Newington Avenue). I doubt if there is a trace of it left.

⁵⁵ George W. McCreary, *Street Index . . .* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 139 refers to "Ordinances," 1878, No. 104. Lawson's Lane closed from Druid Hill Avenue to North Avenue.

⁵⁶ John Bartholomew & Son, *Gazeteer of the British Isles*, 9th ed. (Edinburgh, 1943), has no Lanvale. Samuel Lewis & Co., *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London, 1844, 1846, 1848) has "Llan Vaelog" and "Llanvael Rhys."

⁵⁷ Now belonging to Lucas Brothers, of Baltimore, Md.

⁵⁸ It is my guess that the name of Lanvale was first applied to the Rutter's Mill

The ford called Rutter's was situated on Jones's Falls a little way above the mouth of Porcosen or Brady's Run, between Charles Street and Morton Alley. Here, at the ford, a road leading across country to the Poor House Ground and into Howard Street met the road called Hanson's Mill Road, later known as Lanvale Road, leading to the York Road. Hanson's mill and Rutter's mill are one and the same.

In November, 1805, the Maryland Assembly passed an act styled "An Act to straighten out the road leading into Howard Street in the City of Baltimore from the north end of Howard Street until it intersects what is called the Mill road at or near the ground of Elisha Tyson and George Grundy."⁵⁹ The new road was to start "from the north end of Franklin Street and running thence the width of Howard Street and in the same direction until it reaches the south corner of the poor house ground, and from thence of the width of 66 feet towards Rutter's Ford, until it intersects the Mill Road (present Cathedral Street) at or near the property of Elisha Tyson and George Grundy."⁶⁰

Reference has already been made to Surveyor Samuel Green's "Plot of Roads north from Baltimore," dated November 26, 1805. On it, among others, we find indicated the following roads and landmarks:

(1) Rutter's Ford; (2) Rutter's Mill; (3) The Poor House Grounds and the Poor House; (4) the residence of George Grundy, Esq.; (5) Poor House Lane,⁶¹ (6) a road styled "Bolton Street (Contemplated)," which leads out of Howard Street (not named), at its intersection with Poor House Lane (present corner of Howard and Madison Streets) straight to Rutter's Ford; (7) a much narrower road styled "Road to Rutter's Ford," which, running east of the aforesaid "contemplated" Bolton Street,⁶²

property not earlier than 1810, when it was sold to Messrs. James Mosher, Robert Cary Long and William Gwynn. Note the fact that Gwynn is a Welsh family name.

⁵⁹ Tyson's land lay between Cathedral Street and Richmond Street (now Read). Grundy's adjoined Tyson's. His mansion, "Bolton," stood on the site of the Fifth Regiment Armory. The Mill Road was the road from town on the western side of Jones's Falls to Birkhead's Mill (*q. v.*).

⁶⁰ *Laws of Maryland, November Session (1805)*, Ch. XXXIV.

⁶¹ Called "Almshouse Street" on Warner and Hanna's Map.

⁶² This road is shown in part on Poppleton's *Plan of Baltimore City, 1825*. It approaches the Falls at a point between St. Paul and Charles Street. It ran thence along the Falls to the ford. Poppleton shows it crossing John Street (now Preston) at its intersection with Charles. The Bolton spring branch also crossed this intersection.

from the end of Poor House Lane, skirts the Poor House grounds, and runs thence to Jones Falls, thence up the Falls to Rutter's Ford.⁶³ This was a road of unknown antiquity, possibly one of the oldest pre-city roads of this area. (8) a road styled "county road," which runs, generally, about north north east from Rutter's Ford to the York Road at James Edwards's; (9) a much wider road styled "The Road Contemplated," which runs straight from the ford to the York Road at the aforesaid Edwards's. This was the road laid out later (1811) and called Lanvale Road.

Among the so-called Package Plats at the Baltimore Court House is one styled "Plat of Lanvale Road formerly called Hansons Mill Road as laid out by the commissioners." The commission is dated 17 Jan., 1811, and calls for the widening and straightening of "a road commonly called Hansons Mill Road from Rutters ford on Jones fall to Baltimore and York Turnpike." The commissioners met and surveyed the aforesaid road, January 24, 1811, which is described in their report as follows (Package Plat, 161. The italics are mine.):

Beginning for the same N. 76 degrees west 2 perches from the center of the south end of the arch or culvert *built over Porcosen run* on that part of the Falls Turnpike road leading into old town and running thence south 20 degrees west 19 perches to Jones Falls, then from the beginning aforesaid North 20 degrees east 174 perches, north forty degrees east eighty five perches to the Baltimore and York Town Turnpike road at 7 perches southerly from James Edwards stone garden fence—called Lanvale Road.

This, according to my research, is the first occurrence of the name Lanvale in the records of Baltimore City. A Poppleton Plan of Baltimore City shows Lanvale Road (not named) intersecting the Falls between Charles Street and Morton Alley. This is the site of Rutter's Ford. It shows the road intersecting the Falls east of Charles Street, between Lanvale and Federal Street. This part of the Falls Road has been eliminated. Lanvale Road (not named) is shown intact on Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and County*, 1877 (p. 52, Ninth District), from North Avenue, at St. Paul Street, to Huntington Avenue (Twenty-Fifth Street), at Barclay Street. Lanvale Road ran into the York Road a short distance above Huntington Avenue.

Porcosen is an Indian word which, in the seventeenth and

⁶³ Not to be confused with the Bolton Street of today, which was not then "contemplated."

eighteenth centuries, in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, was applied to "low wooded ground or swamp which is covered with shallow water in winter and remains in a miry condition in summer."⁶⁴ It was formerly much used by Maryland surveyors, and occurs in many early surveys which are recorded at the State Land Office. Its application to the stream mentioned in the record quoted above seems to indicate that, while not earlier recorded, the name may have been in use in that connection at a much earlier date, perhaps in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Porcosen Run, or, to call it by its later name, Brady's Run, emptied into Jones's Falls on its northern side a few perches above Charles Street, as is shown on a plat of a survey made for the Baltimore Water Company in 1835. This stream, described as a "small branch," is called for in the certificate of survey of "Saint Mary Bourne," alias "Saint Mary Bow" (see under "Mount Royal"). From a marked walnut tree at the mouth of this branch the survey (St. Mary Bourne) runs N. N. W. up the branch 75 perches (something short of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile). This line was later (1720) retained and incorporated in the resurvey, "Mount Royal." The source of Brady's Run (so named), on the estate of Samuel Brady,⁶⁵ is indicated in Bromley's *Atlas of Baltimore City*, 1896, Plates 15 and 18. This source lies in the area bounded by Barclay Street and York Road, Twenty-Ninth Street and Twenty-Eighth Street. The course of the run between its source and Twenty-Third Street, at Hunter Street, or Alley is shown on the *Atlas*. Bromley's *Atlas of Baltimore*, 1887, Plate 6, shows this stream from the south side of North or Boundary Avenue, between Charles and St. Paul Streets, south to Lovegrove Alley, nearly half way to Townsend Street (Lafayette Avenue).⁶⁶ The stream passed the southeastern corner of Charles and Lanvale Streets.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 30, Part 2, Handbook of American Indians*, p. 287. Other forms of the word are, as therein noted: poquosin, poaqueson, poquoson, pocoson, perkoson.

⁶⁵ Samuel Brady (1789-1871), mayor of Baltimore, 1840-1842.

⁶⁶ Bromley, *Atlas*, shows Brady's Run skirting the western sides of the Baltimore Baseball Club's Union Park. In a most interesting article dealing with the history of North or Boundary Avenue (*Baltimore Evening Sun*, September 18, 1940) Mr. Lee McCardell mentions "an open brook," which, long after the laying out of this avenue, "ran across it just east of Charles Street." This was Brady's Run. Mr. Talbot Denmead, 3rd, whose family home, a country house, stood near the intersection of Lafayette and Maryland Avenues, informed me a number of years ago, that it was his opinion that Brady's Run, on leaving North Avenue, passed under the present Oriole Cafeteria.

⁶⁷ *Journal, the First Branch of the City Council*, 1853-1854, p. 359.

Brady's Run has a length of about one mile. A bird's eye glimpse of its valley may be had in Sachse's *View of the City of Baltimore*, 1869. Its entire course is shown, on a small scale, on T. E. Sickles' *A Map of the City of Baltimore and Part of Baltimore County for the Introduction of Water into the City*, 1852.⁶⁸

On March 27, 1747, there was surveyed for Jonathan Hanson, under a writ of *ad quod damnum*, a tract of land, containing forty acres, lying on both sides of Jones's Falls, for the purpose of erecting a mill thereon. The land so surveyed was part of "Mount Royal" and already belonged to Hanson.⁶⁹ This Jonathan Hanson was the son of an earlier Jonathan Hanson (d. 1727) by his first wife, Keziah Murray, and was born, September 10, 1710. He married (1) Sarah Spicer, and (2) Mary ———, died in 1786. He and his father were among the pioneer business men of Baltimore Town. In his last years he resided in a large stone mansion, later John Rutter's residence, and later still the home of the Denmead family. The grist mill, which Jonathan Hanson built on the land so acquired from himself, was known, first, as Hanson's Mill, then as Rutter's Mill. It was occasionally called Mount Royal Mill, and finally went under the name of Lanvale. Jonathan Hanson was buried in the family graveyard, which lay at and below the intersection of Lafayette and Charles Street. In an advertisement, published in the *Maryland Journal*, October 16, 1776, George Parker, clothier, informs the public that he has removed to Mr. Hanson's fulling mill about one mile from Baltimore Town, where he carries on the fulling and dying business. Hanson's grist mill stood on the north side of Jones's Falls, immediately above the Decker Street (Maryland Avenue) bridge.⁷⁰ The mill-dam belonging to this mill lay across the Falls between

⁶⁸ Sickles places the mouth of the run too far up Jones's Falls with reference to Charles Street. This map shows the dwelling house and out buildings of the "Sadler" [Sadtler] family between Lanvale Road (not named) and Gilmor Lane (not named), with an entrance on the former. The entrance lane crosses the run. The Sadtler house is placed somewhat too far to the east. As is well known, it stood, until a few years ago, on the east side of Charles Street, between Twenty-fifth Street (Huntington Avenue) and Twenty-sixth Street.

⁶⁹ Land Office of Maryland, Chancery Proceedings, Liber I. R. No. 5, f. 53. To the layman it is a curious fact that the law required a man to "condemn" his own land for a mill site.

⁷⁰ Warner and Hanna, *Map*, 1801, shows a "Mill" standing on the Falls, at about that place. Fielding Lucas, *Map of Baltimore*, 1841, shows a building on N. side of the Falls, immediately above Decker Street.

North Avenue and Lafayette Avenue, and is shown on a "perspective" of the proposed North Avenue Bridge, 1867, to which reference has already been made.⁷¹ A section of the mill-race is also visible in this drawing.

In his will, dated December 26, 1785,⁷² Jonathan Hanson bequeaths to his wife, Mary Hanson, "the houses and plantation on which I live, being part of a tract of land called Mount Royal, and my upper grist mill⁷³ thereon, except my fulling mill, which I devise to my son Amon Hanson."

The next owner of Hanson's mill on Mount Royal was John Rutter (d. 1806). He was a member of the Hanson family by marriage.⁷⁴ The *Baltimore City Directory* for 1804 has: "John Rutter, gentleman, Mount Royal." In the *Baltimore American* of July 9, 1804, he advertised this property for sale. The estate contained some 99 acres, exclusive of the "three good stone quarries"⁷⁵ mentioned in this advertisement. Among its other advantages and its amenities were, it was said: 39 acres of woods; a large stone dwelling house;⁷⁶ a "well cultivated garden;"⁷⁷ an

⁷¹ Poppleton, *Plan of Baltimore City, 1852*, shows the mill-race, starting a little below North Avenue, above Townsend Street.

⁷² This will was proved, 7 January, 1786. Wills, Baltimore City and County, Vol. 4, f. 115.

⁷³ His two lower grist mills were situated, as he says in his will, on "Salisbury Plains." One was at or near the site of the intersection of Jones Falls and Preston Street; the other, later Josias Pennington's mill, was on the east side of the Falls a little below Biddle Street.

⁷⁴ He married Elizabeth Askew, who survived him. Their marriage license is dated Baltimore County, Feb. 16, 1785. There are recorded among the Land Records of Baltimore County in Liber T. K. No. 238, at folio 270, articles of agreement between Hugh W. Evans and Joseph Todhunter, of the one part, and Thomas B. Rutter, of the other part, concerning the graveyard known as Rutter's, on the site of the intersection of Charles Street and Lafayette Avenue. These articles are dated, Nov. 4, 1834. Therein it is recited that "John Rutter, who married into the family of the aforesaid Jonathan Hanson . . . afterwards became sole owner of that part of the said farm in which the graveyard was situated."

⁷⁵ These quarries must have been situated in the rocky banks on the east side of Jones's Falls, below the mouth of Edwards's or Sumwalt Run. The Hanson's Mill property, part of "Mount Royal," extended no farther up the Falls than this point. Only a few decades ago a number of old quarries were to be observed on the eastern side of the Falls above North Avenue. In Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, we find the following items: John Foss, a stone quarry, near Birckhead's Mill, Gabriel Gill, a stone quarry opposite the mill of Doctor Birckhead; John Keplinger, quarrier, 1/2 acre used as a stone Quarry, adjoining Gills near Birckhead's Mill. G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs*, 1876, Plate "R," shows a short street called Quarry Place between Denmead (Twentieth) Street and Mankin (now Twenty-first) Street, west of Oak Street (now Howard), a block and a half above North Avenue.

⁷⁶ Warner and Hanna, *Map, 1801*, shows this house marked "Rutter."

⁷⁷ This garden is also shown by Warner and Hanna. It is extensive, being about a city block wide and more than a block long.

apple orchard of 300 trees; the mill, "in complete order," and "an extensive view of the bay and the neighbouring country." The property is described as within a mile of the city of Baltimore, on the eastern side of Jones's Falls. The sale did not come off, and in the *American* of August 25, 1804, "Mount Royal Mill," situated one mile from town, is advertised to let. Applicants are advised to apply to John Rutter, "on the premises" or to the subscriber, Thomas Rutter, Jr.

The Rutter's Mill property, containing eleven acres, part of "Mount Royal," was sold, November 24, 1809, by Josias Pennington and Thomas Rutter to Messrs. James Mosher, Robert Cary Long and William Gwynn, of John, of the City of Baltimore,⁷⁸ who, on June 26, 1810, bought of John Rutter's executors, Thomas and Josias Rutter some 86 square perches adjacent to it, farther down the Falls.⁷⁹ The later deed is interesting in that it called for "a road that leads from James Edwards's⁸⁰ across Jones's Falls [at Rutter's Ford] to Howard Street." This road has already been considered in detail.

The Lanvale Woolen Manufactory, equipped for "fulling, Dyeing, and Dressing of mixed linens and Woolen or Cotton Woolen Cloths," was advertised in the *Baltimore American*, of March 10, 1813, by one William Brinkett, who mentions his "long acquaintance with the above business in Europe." It is described as being situated about one mile from town. On Poppleton's *Plan of the City of Baltimore* (1823), we find the Lanvale Woolen Factory at the site of Lanvale and Decker Streets. Charles Varle, in his *Complete View of Baltimore* (1833), tells us that Lanvale Factory, "built several years ago," employed 150 hands, and consumed about 200,000 pounds of cotton yearly. Hugh D. Evans was the proprietor. Mr. Evans bought the property, styled the Lanvale Cotton Factory, in 1828, for \$25,000.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Deeds, Liber W. G. No. 105, f. 194. The property therein conveyed extended up the Falls, on both sides, as far as the mouth of Edwards's Run. Mentioned in this deed are: the land condemned for Mount Royal Forge; the Mill Road (i. e., the road from town to Birkhead's Mill, later Stricker's, etc.); the mill dam (of Rutter's Mill).

⁷⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 108, f. 541. As will appear later, Rutter's Mill stood on this property.

⁸⁰ Warner and Hanna's Map shows the residence of "Edwards" on the west side of the York Road, a little less than a mile above the site of the intersection of that road and North Avenue. The distance is greatly exaggerated.

⁸¹ William Frick, trustee, conveyed this property and other parts of "Mount Royal" to Hugh W. Evans (elsewhere referred to as Hugh D. Evans) Feb. 16,

It is my opinion that the Lanvale Woolen Factory, which is the subject of the above mentioned advertisement, was housed in the old mill house on Jones's Falls, and that the the active and important Lanvale Woolen Factory of 1823 was not built until after 1813.⁸²

In 1843 Mr. Adam Denmead, a resident of Baltimore, purchased 31 acres of "Mount Royal," on which the Hanson-Rutter mansion was situated, and, thereafter, made it his summer home.⁸³ The old house stood across the site of the bed of Townsend Street, until, in 1883, that street was extended from Charles Street to Maryland Avenue. It is now called Lafayette Avenue.⁸⁴ In 1877 the entrance lane led up to the house from Charles Street and

1830, Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 204, f. 592. It appears that the property was sold at auction, 29 Nov., 1828, under a decree of the Baltimore County Court, and Mr. Evans was the highest bidder. He sold a one-half interest in it to Joseph Todhunter, Feb. 25, 1830. *Ibid.*, f. 597.

⁸² Kearney's "Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and Vicinity, 1814," shows no building on the site of the intersection of Decker Street (Maryland Avenue) and Townsend Street (Lafayette Avenue), but does show a building, styled "factory," on the Falls, at or about the place where Warner and Hanna (1801) show a "Mill," which is unquestionably identical with Rutter's Mill. There is recorded among the land records of Baltimore County, in Liber W. G. No. 161, at folio 170, a deed, dated 1 August, 1821. Samuel G. Jones is the party of the first part, James Mosher, Robert Cary Long and William Gwynn, of John, the parties of the second part, and Philip E. Thomas, executor and trustee under the will of Joseph Thornborough, the party of the third part. The property involved is that part of "Mount Royal" and Coxes's "Addition" purchased by the parties of the second part of Thomas and Josias Rutter, June 26, 1810 (see above). Mentioned in the deed of 1821 is "the mill *factory* and other buildings and improvements thereon."

⁸³ Baltimore County Land Records, Deeds, Liber T. K. No. 345, f. 205: President and Directors of Union Bank of Maryland to Adam Denmead, 13 Sept., 1843, Lots No.'s 1 & 3, parts of "Mount Royal," lying on the northern boundary of the City of Baltimore, in all, something over 31 acres, also part of "Huntington," 3¾ acres and 13 perches. Mr. Denmead, who was born in Baltimore in 1804, died there in 1860, aged sixty. His son, Talbot Denmead, 1st (1828-1876), succeeded him as owner of this property, whose son, Talbot Denmead, 2nd (1854-1882) was the last of the family to own and occupy the old house. I am indebted to his son, Talbot Denmead, 3rd for information, which is contained in a letter, dated October 23, 1943. Mr. Denmead is the distinguished conservationist: "The old Denmead place was purchased by my great-grandfather, Adam 2nd" (N. B.: his father, Adam Denmead, 1st, a native of Ireland, died in Baltimore, 13 Feb., 1823, in his 56th year.) "The old Denmean place consisted, as I recall, of a tract of about 43 acres extending from about Union Station northerly to and including the present site of St. Michael's and All Angel's Church, which site was donated by Talbot Denmead 1st, and ran along Twentieth Street, which was formerly Denmead Street, toward Oak Street [now Howard Street]. It included the Northern Central R. R. tracks south of the North Avenue bridge."

⁸⁴ G. W. McCreary, *Street Index* . . . (Baltimore, 1900), p. 193. Mr. Talbot Denmead, 3rd, recalls the old house, which faced south. (His letter of Oct. 23, 1943).

out by way of Decker Street.⁸⁵ I do not doubt that it originally met Lanvale Road, which crossed Townsend Street at Lovegrove Alley, half a block east of Charles.

The old graveyard, known as Rutter's graveyard, which was laid out by Jonathan Hanson,⁸⁶ wherein he, his two wives, and many of his descendants were buried, was situated in the bed of Charles Street, at and below its intersection with Townsend Street, the present Lafayette Avenue. When the opening up, or extension of Charles Street was imminent, the bodies interred in this private burying ground were removed to a vault in Greenmount Cemetery,⁸⁷ and the land sold to Mr. Denmead.⁸⁸

678973

⁸⁵ Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City*, 1876, Plate "P," shows the house astride the bed of the future Townsend Street. A private road leads up from Charles Street to the front of the house, where there is a circle, and thence to Decker Street. Mr. Denmead tells me that "there was a patent gate on the Charles Street side that opened when a horse drawn vehicle passed over the trigger." These contraptions were apparently once quite popular. I know of one which failed to open, and nearly caused a serious accident.

⁸⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Deeds, Liber T. K. No. 338, f. 270: Hugh W. Evans and Joseph Todhunter to Thomas B. Rutter, Nov. 4, 1834. The said parties enter into an agreement as to the bounds of the graveyard and the road leading thereto. A new entrance is agreed on, leading up to the stone dwelling-house from the Eastern Branch of the Falls Road, past the Lanvale Factory, and thence to the graveyard. The graveyard is described as having been laid out by Jonathan Hanson.

⁸⁷ Greenmount Cemetery, Area "E," Lots 46 and 47, vault. A large stone slab is engraved with the names of the persons who are buried beneath, and the years of their respective demises, as follows: Jonathan Hanson, 1786; Sarah, his wife; Mary his wife, 1794; Kezia, 1770; Edw^d, 1786; Amon, 1787; Elizabeth, 1791; Jonathan, Sarah, Hannah, 1831, their children; W. Askew, 1792; William, his son; D. Gorsuch; Charles, his son, 1781; Jonathan, 1792; Joshua, 1783; Josias, 1790 (sons of Josias Pennington); John Rutter, 1806; Elizabeth Rutter, 1838; William, 1792; Edward, 1799; J. Hanson, 1800; Robert, 1806, their children; Edward Rutter, 1800; Margaret, his wife, 1806; Mary Barry, 1782; L. Barry, 1822; J. Johnson, Adeline, his daughter; S. Wilkinson, Elizabeth, his wife; Jonathan Rutter, 1806; Martha, his wife, 1829, and their children.

⁸⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Deeds, Liber A. W. No. 423, f. 149: 12 Nov., 1829, Josias Rutter, surviving trustee under the will of John Rutter, to Adam Denmead, conveyance, Rutter's Graveyard. This deed recites, in part, that "whereas North Charles Street as lately laid out and opened by the Board of Commissioners for opening streets in the City of Baltimore intersects and divides that part of the tract of land called Mount Royal heretofore reserved and for many years past used by the families and descendants of the late Jonathan Hanson and the late John Rutter as a family graveyard . . . whereby it became proper and expedient to remove the persons there interred to Greenmount Cemetery," etc.

FREIGHT RATES IN THE MARYLAND TOBACCO TRADE, 1705-1762

By JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II *

AFTER the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702, captains of ships in the Maryland tobacco trade took advantage of the scarcity of shipping to charge exorbitant freight rates.¹ The Maryland tobacco planters complained that shipmasters, after promising to charge as little freight as anyone else, later agreed among themselves to fill out their bills of lading at a high freight.² In October, 1704, in order to prevent this evil practice and to give the many scattered consigning planters a better bargaining position with the shipmasters, the Maryland General Assembly passed "An Act requiring the Masters of Shippes and Vessells to publish the rates of their Freight before they take any Tobacco on board."³

The act contained four sections. The first required ". . . that every Master and Commander of a Shipp or other Vessell that purposes to export Tobacco on Freight shall before he take any such Tobacco on board his said Shipp or Vessell publish in Writing by a Note under his hand which he shall Cause to be affix'd on the Court door of that County where his said Shipp shall ride at Anchor at what rate he will receive Tobo upon freight P Tonn

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¹ M. S. Morriss, "Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XXXII, No. 3 (Baltimore, 1914), 96; cf. *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, 465.

² "The Governo^{rs} Remarques upon the Laws of Maryland," C. O. 5/715/Document 87 (Part vii), pp. 36-37, British Transcripts, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; cf. Curtis P. Nettels, *Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1934), p. 54.

³ *Arch. Md.*, XXVI, 136, 345-346.

on board his said Shipp for that intended Voyage which Note the Clerk of the County shall enter upon Record.”⁴ The next two sections provided for the forfeiture of any tobacco put on board any ship or ship’s boat before the master had posted his freight, and for a fine on the captain of twenty shillings for every hogshead taken on board before his freight was published. The last and longest section required a shipmaster who sent small craft to another country for part of his load to provide the skipper with a certificate of the freight rate, signed by the clerk of the county where the ship rode at anchor; this section also enjoined the Collectors of the Customs and the Naval Officers to procure copies of the act and to affix the same in their offices.⁵

Although enacted to remedy a specific grievance, largely resulting from a temporary wartime shortage of shipping, the act of 1704 contained no clause limiting its duration. It remained in effect for more than fifty years and on the statute books until 1785.⁶ By that time, grain had succeeded tobacco as the staple of Maryland agriculture, and the American Revolution had terminated the British shipping monopoly in the Chesapeake tobacco trade.⁷

Thanks to the clause, “which Note the Clerk of the County shall enter upon Record,” Maryland local records contain a great number of useful entries concerning shipping in the eighteenth-century tobacco trade. The recorded freight rate notices have preserved not only the dates of the notes, the names of vessels and their captains, and the freight rates themselves, but also, more frequently than not, both where the ships were anchored in Maryland and the names of their owners or charterers, in England. In addition to these usual items, other details relating to the vessels and their voyages were often included in the captains’ notes and entered *verbatim* by the clerk.

The primary importance of these entries lies in the statistical

⁴ *Ibid.*, 345.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 345-346.

⁶ Act of 1704, Ch. LXII, requiring masters to publish freight rates, repealed 1785, Ch. 69, W. Kilty, *Laws of Maryland* (2 vols., Annapolis, 1799-1800), I, *sub* date 1704.

⁷ J. Franklin Jameson, (ed.), “Letters of Phineas Bond,” *American Historical Association Annual Report*, 1896 (2 vols.; Washington, 1897), I, no. 629; L. A. Harper, “Effects of the Navigation Acts on the Thirteen Colonies,” in R. B. Morris, (ed.), *Era of the American Revolution* (New York, 1939), pp. 9-10, 25-26.

evidence they provide for the student of the colonial tobacco trade. As Dr. A. Pierce Middleton has pointed out in *Tobacco Coast*: "Freight rates . . . are a good indication of the state of trade at any given time. They indicate the amount of shipping employed in relation to the amount of goods to be transported, and they indicate indirectly the risk involved, because the shipowner must meet his insurance premium out of the proceeds of the freight."⁸ Since freight was the largest (except for English customs duties) and most variable of the charges which the planters had to pay on a hogshead of tobacco consigned to England for sale, freight rates are also useful as evidence in assessing the costs and profits of the Maryland tobacco planters.⁹

The series of freight rates discussed here have been abstracted from the land records of Anne Arundel County, and are summarized in tabular form at the end of this article.¹⁰ Fortunately, the freight rate notices for this county appear to have been more systematically recorded and are better preserved than for any other; and since Anne Arundel County occupied a central position in the tobacco economy of Maryland during the first half of the eighteenth century, it is believed that these entries accurately reflect—at least until 1755—the fluctuations of freight rates in the Maryland tobacco trade over the same span. The series of entries which follow, therefore, provide one means of gauging the condition of the tobacco trade over a period of more than fifty years.

Besides giving twentieth-century economic historians useful eighteenth-century statistics, the Maryland law of 1704 seems also to have accomplished, at least partially, the purpose for which it was enacted. Throughout the eighteenth century, peacetime freight

⁸ A. Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, Virginia, 1953), p. 300. I am grateful to Dr. Middleton not only for permission to quote this passage but also for his friendship and advice over a period of years.

⁹ The planters paid freight charges from one fourth to one half as large as their own net proceeds from sales. Johns Papers, Deposit 339, Hall of Records, Items # 13 and 44. Cf. Charles A. Barker, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), p. 81.

¹⁰ These records are now deposited in the Hall of Records at Annapolis, Maryland. For permission to publish material from them and from other documents in the custody of the Hall of Records, for generous assistance in locating similar entries in the records of other counties, and for numerous courtesies extended over many years, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of Maryland, and the staff of the Hall of Records.

rates in Maryland were lower than in Virginia, which had no such law.¹¹ The requirement that the freight rate be published before any tobacco was taken on board both decreased the time in which the shipmaster could assess the supply of tobacco and the demand for freight, and also increased the probability of concerted action by the planters if they considered the rate excessive.¹² The lower freights may have resulted partly, as a correspondent wrote to the *Maryland Gazette* in 1747, because the wording of the bills of lading used in Maryland offered larger opportunities for fraud to the masters and the English merchants; but as the Maryland rivers were more distant from the English markets, and the Maryland tobacco hogsheads larger than those of Virginia, it seems likely that the law of 1704 was at least equally responsible for the lower freight rates prevailing in Maryland.¹³

Freight rates in the tobacco trade were calculated in pounds sterling per ton. By a custom established in the Virginia tobacco trade before 1630, four hogsheads, no matter what their weight, constituted a ton.¹⁴ The ton, therefore, was a measurement ton, and the maximum dimensions of the hogsheads were fixed by Maryland law.¹⁵ Since the weight of the hogshead had no effect on the freight charged, it was to the shipper's advantage to pack into the cask, by means of a lever device called a "prize," as

¹¹ Although Governor William Gooch of Virginia suggested a similar provision for the publication of freight rates in his 1729 "Proposals" for a tobacco inspection law, it was not included in the Virginia tobacco inspection act of 1730. After the long depression of the 1720's, the Virginia planters rarely succeeded in forcing the peacetime freight rate below £8 per ton. For evidence of higher rates in Virginia, see Louis B. Wright, (ed.), *Letters of Robert Carter, 1720-1727* (San Marino, California, 1940), p. 10; *Maryland Gazette*, December 9, 1747, p. 1, column 1; and John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (39 vols.; Washington, 1931-1944), III. 89.

¹² Brice Protest Book, 1734-1744, Maryland Historical Society, pp. 126-180. Cf. Wright, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹³ Barbadoes, which had a similar law pertaining to the freight charged on the carriage of sugar to England, enjoyed lower freight rates than other English sugar islands. See Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 92, n. 111; and Ralph Davis, "Earnings of Capital in the English Shipping Industry, 1670-1730," *Journal of Economic History*, XVII, No. 3 (September, 1957), 415.

¹⁴ Governor John Harvey to the Privy Council of England, Virginia, May 29, 1630, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VII, No. 4 (April, 1900), 382. The same custom applied in Maryland; see, for example, an agreement for freight dated London, 21 September 1657, ". . . he or they paying freight after the Rate of Seven pounds Sterling per Tunn four usuall hhds according to the Gage of the Countrey to the Tun . . ." (*Arch. Md.*, XLI, 29).

¹⁵ Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

much tobacco as he could without impairing its quality. Especially in wartime, the planters tended to overestimate the quantity of tobacco which could be pressed into a hogshead; and some of the many complaints from the English merchants about the quality of the tobacco shipped from the Chesapeake colonies referred specifically to damage from "overprizing."¹⁶ Nevertheless, the planters gradually increased both the legal size of the hogsheads and the quantity of tobacco pressed into them from an average of less than five hundred pounds in the late seventeenth century to nearly one thousand pounds after the passage of the Maryland tobacco inspection act of 1747.¹⁷ By that act, no tobacco hogshead weighing less than 950 pounds could be legally exported from Maryland.¹⁸ The gradual increase in the size and weight of the hogsheads, therefore, effectively reduced the freight charges which the planters had to pay.¹⁹

Freight rates in the Anne Arundel County entries for 1705-1762 varied from £4 per ton to £18 per ton, but the usual fluctuations were much smaller than these figures suggest.²⁰ The greatest variations were between wartime and peacetime freight charges.²¹ In time of peace the rates tended to vary only a pound per ton above

¹⁶ Robert Carter to Thomas Corbin, Rappahannock River, Virginia, 20 August, 1705, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st Series, XVII, No. 4 (April, 1909), 260-261; Farrell & Jones to Mrs. Elizabeth Jones, Bristol, July 15, 1760, Jones Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁷ Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 101; cf. L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 vols.; Washington, 1933), I, 220-223; and L. F. Stock, (ed.), *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America* (5 vols.; Washington, 1924-41), II, 431.

¹⁸ For the inspection act of 1747, see the excellent monograph by V. J. Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Extra Volumes, New Series, No. 22 (Baltimore, 1936), Ch. VIII.

¹⁹ L. C. Gray, *op. cit.*, I, 223.

²⁰ Dr. Ralph Davis of Hull University, England, has made a brief analysis of freight rates in the tobacco trade in connection with his study of the English shipping industry in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; but as he apparently has neglected the effect of war on freight rates, ignored the impact of sales in the colonies on the demand for freight, and relied chiefly on evidence drawn from the West Indian sugar trade, his conclusion that freight rates in the tobacco trade fluctuated substantially from year to year may be questioned. Ralph Davis, "Merchant Shipping in the Economy of the Late Seventeenth Century," *Economic History Review*, Second Series, Vol. IX, No. 1 (August, 1956), 67-69.

²¹ Cf. the illuminating analyses of freight rates in the English West Indian sugar trade in Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 500-503; and K. G. Davies, *Royal African Company* (London, 1957), pp. 201-203.

or below a norm of £7.²² In wartime the rates were naturally almost always higher than the peacetime norm, but the rates in any given year of war depended on so many factors that the variations were much greater than in time of peace.

After war and peace, the next most important influence on freight rates was the number and activity of the tobacco purchasers in Maryland. Most of the purchasers were factors for merchants in the outports of England and Scotland, and the tobacco they bought in Maryland was ordinarily loaded on ships which their employers had chartered to carry only their own tobacco. These ships rarely accepted tobacco on freight, even when consigned to the same port, and consequently their captains seldom published their freight rates. When vigorous competition to purchase drove up tobacco prices in the colony, many planters who otherwise might have shipped their tobacco to English merchants on consignment sold their crops in the country. As a consequence, vessels taking in tobacco on freight frequently experienced difficulty in obtaining their ladings. In these circumstances captains often published their freight rate "with liberty of consignment," that is, they published their freight charges to a given English port and allowed the shipper to name the merchant to whom the tobacco was to be delivered. When the purchasers were especially active, freight rates were sometimes forced down.²³ Conversely, when there were few cash purchasers active in Maryland and the price of tobacco was low in the colony, many planters preferred to consign their crops to England. At such times, the demand for freight space sometimes exceeded the capacity of the available shipping; liberty of consignment was rarely offered; and shipmasters were occasionally able to publish their freight at a higher rate than would otherwise have been accepted.²⁴

The last, and least frequent, causes of variation in freight rates were large crops of tobacco and a shortage of freight space, on the one hand, or short crops and a surplus of shipping, on the other. The quantity of tobacco to be exported on freight most

²² V. J. Wyckoff, "Ships and Shipping of Seventeenth Century Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIII and XXXIV, (1938-39), *passim*, especially XXXIV, 283.

²³ Dr. Charles Carroll to William Black, Maryland, September 14, 1750, "Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII, No. 4 (December, 1928), 383.

²⁴ Petition of Delegates of Maryland to the Queen, November, 1709, *Arch. Md.*, XXVII, 465.

frequently exceeded the available cargo space in times of war or depressed trade; the reverse was often true in years of peace and prosperity.

As a result of the English struggle with France and Spain for commercial domination of the New World, the series of freight rates for the years 1705-1762 fall naturally into five distinct periods. The years 1705-1712, 1740-1748, and 1756-1762 were years of war and of high freight rates. During the War of the Spanish Succession, the average freight rate was close to £15 per ton; in the War of the Austrian Succession, it varied from £9 to £16 per ton; and in the Seven Years' War, from £8 10s. to £14. During the long period of peace from 1713 through 1739 and the much shorter one from 1748 through 1754, on the other hand, low freights of £6 to £8 generally prevailed.

High and low freight rates were important factors in the alternating cycles of prosperity and depression which plagued the tobacco trade of Maryland and Virginia in the eighteenth century, but the freight rate cycles and the cycles of good and bad times in the tobacco industry were by no means synchronous. During much of the 1720's, for example, when freight charges were low, the tobacco trade was depressed; and again, for several years during the Seven Years' War, the tobacco trade enjoyed a boom in spite of high freight rates. The figures which follow, therefore, are only one of a series of data necessary to interpret the fluctuating prosperity of the tobacco trade in the eighteenth century. Other sources have provided additional evidence for the interpretation of the prevailing level of freight rates in each of the five periods and for explanations of the variations in particular years.

I

When the act requiring the publication of freight rates went into effect in December, 1704, the War of the Spanish Succession was already more than two years old. In 1701, the last year of peace but also a time of depression in the tobacco trade, freight charges on tobacco shipped from Maryland had varied from £7 to £10 per ton.²⁵ The outbreak of war in 1702 caught both shipmasters and tobacco shippers unprepared. One captain filled up his bills

²⁵ A[nne] A[rundel] Deeds, Liber W. T. No. 2, 1702-08, pp. 323, 324, 325, 330, Hall of Records.

of lading with two rates, £14 per ton if war came and £11 if peace were maintained.²⁶ Some masters refused to set a freight and left the rate in the bills of lading to be filled up in London.²⁷ In 1703, freight rates climbed to £15 per ton, but in the following year the current rate fell slightly to £13.²⁸

On August 22, 1705, Thomas Bordley, Clerk of Anne Arundel County, entered in the land records of the county the first notice posted on the courthouse door in compliance with the act of 1704. Although more formal in language than many subsequent entries, it will serve as an example of the information contained in these notices.²⁹

At the Prayer of Richard Johnson Mariner the foll^g Cert is recorded which was by him put up at the County Court house dore of Annarundell this 22^d of Aug^t 1705—

Viz^t August the 22^d 1750

These are to Certify

all Persons concerned that I Richard Johnson Mariner commander of the good Ship Providence Galley of Maryland do hereby Publish that being purposed in the said Ship to Export tobacco out of this province to England by the first convoy upon freight the rate of the freight on which I will take tobacco on board the said Shipp in order to be Exported on freight as abovesaid is fourteen pounds per Tonn witness my hand

Rich^d Johnson

Perhaps because he intended to sail with convoy, Captain Johnson offered freight at a rate one pound lower than any other captain did for the ensuing year.³⁰ In November, 1705, Captain Thomas Cleeves tried to coax the planters to ship on the *Panther* by appending to his notice, offering freight at £15 per ton, a note that if most of the ships in the province went at £14 he would also. But no one else published his freight at that rate in Anne Arundel County.³¹ The going rate in 1705 and 1706 was £15 per ton.³² These were perilous years for vessels in the tobacco trade. The homeward-bound tobacco convoys from the Chesapeake

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 325, 332.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

³⁰ For the workings of the convoys in the tobacco trade, see Middleton, *op. cit.*, Ch. X.

³¹ A. A. Deeds, Liber W. T. No. 2, 1702-08, p. 264.

³² See table, *post*. Hereafter, no citation will be given for data summarized in the table.

suffered heavy losses from enemy capture and bad weather during winter passages in the North Atlantic. Indeed, the French navy and privateers took such a toll of English shipping in 1705 and 1706 that the merchants carried their complaints to Parliament in an attempt to force better naval protection of commerce.³³

By 1707, the long Atlantic passage had become so hazardous and the tobacco trade had declined to such a low state that only a few ships came into the Chesapeake to load. The masters of two that did advertise their tonnage, defensive armament, and complement of sailors,³⁴ because there were so few vessels in the country, these captains were able to demand high rates; £16 per ton was the average for 1707. Shortages of ships and seamen are also illustrated by practices which appear at this time. For example, in 1706, Captain John Sharp of the *David & Sarah* offered to take in tobacco at £15 per ton if consigned to David Dennis, and in 1707, Captain Ralph Reed of the *Coleman Friggott* advertised a rebate of 10s. per ton for those planters who carried their tobacco to his ship.³⁵ Thereafter, for the duration of the war, it became increasingly common for the masters to specify the merchants to whom, rather than the port to which, the freighters were to consign their tobacco.³⁶ For many years longer still, captains who were short of hands or ill-supplied with small craft for fetching tobacco from the planters' landing continued to advertise lower rates for tobacco delivered alongside.³⁷

Four times as many ships loaded tobacco in Anne Arundel County between March and November, 1708, as in the entire previous year. As a result, although some captains with a good interest in the trade published their freight at £16 per ton and Captain Reed asked £17 for tobacco consigned to his charterers and £18 for that shipped with liberty of consignment, other masters could not get their vessels loaded at £15 with liberty of consignment.³⁸ A few captains who wished to load quickly, in order to

³³ More than a score of London vessels carrying 10,000 hogsheads of tobacco were lost from the homeward bound convoys of 1706. Stock, (ed.), *op. cit.*, III, 156-157.

³⁴ A. A. Deeds, W. T. No. 2, 1702-08, pp. 510-511.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 471.

³⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XXVII, 465.

³⁷ [J. F. Jameson?], (ed.), "Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland, 1705-06," *American Historical Review*, XII, No. 2 (January, 1907), 336; V. J. Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation," 143; and *Maryland Gazette*, May 2, 1754, p. 2, col. 3.

³⁸ A. A. Deeds, W. T. No. 2, 1702-08, pp. 589, 638.

return with the same convoy which had brought them out, offered still lower rates.³⁹ Edward Burford of the *Unity*, a large ship of four hundred hogsheads capacity which was set up at £15 per ton with liberty of consignment or £14 to her owner, probably feared a delay in loading, for he appended to his notice: "I must go into y^e freshes of Patapscoe for fear of the worm & there take part of my Loading."⁴⁰ Apparently Burford had difficulty in getting a cargo even at £14 and £15 per ton. In July he dropped his rates to £12 10s. to his owners and £13 to other merchants, "(Provided the Said freighters Load the S^d Ship that She Can Sayle wth this present Convoy)."⁴¹ A month later the captain of the *Queen Anne Galley*, which arrived with a cargo of slaves from Africa on August 19, published his freight at £10 per ton.⁴² This was the lowest freight rate quoted in Anne Arundel County during the war.⁴³ The large number of ships in the country and the desire of many captains to return with the convoy forced down freight rates in 1708 in spite of the great quantity of tobacco awaiting shipment.⁴⁴

After the return convoy finally sailed in October, 1708, freight rates again climbed to £16 per ton. One captain advertised at the same rate in 1709, but at this point entries of freight rates disappear from the Anne Arundel records for two years. Either the masters failed to comply with the law, or the clerk neglected to perform his duty. Certainly there were a number of ships in the country in 1709, for one Anne Arundel tobacco shipper divided his twenty-two hogsheads among no less than five vessels, including the one whose notice was recorded.⁴⁵ No entries at all

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 636, 637.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 636. The worm, of course, was the shipworm (*Teredo Navalis*), then and now a scourge which is capable of chewing the bottom out of unsheathed wooden vessels anchored in the brackish waters of Chesapeake Bay and its tidal estuaries but which cannot live in the fresh water of the Patapsco and Patuxent. For the *Teredo*, see the illuminating passages in Middleton, *op. cit.*, 35-37.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 638.

⁴² Elizabeth Donnan, (ed.), *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (4 vols.; Washington, 1930-35), IV, 18; A. A. Deeds, W. T. No. 2, 1702-08, p. 645.

⁴³ Planters were reluctant to ship tobacco on vessels which had carried slaves. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁴⁴ Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation," 121.

⁴⁵ Letter of John Hyde of London to Lewes Duvall, March 25, 1710, copy in A. A. Deeds, Liber PK, 1708-12, p. 310, printed in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LII, No. 2, (June, 1957), 156.

were recorded in 1710. By the next year, freight rates had again declined. One ship loaded in June, 1711, at £10 per ton, and the captain of another advertised for consignments to Captain John Hyde at £12 per ton for tobacco delivered on board and £13 if fetched from the planter's landing.⁴⁶

In the winter and spring of 1711-12, four captains published their rates. The first to arrive set his ship up at £14, the next at £16, and the two last at £14. Both of the late-comers noted that they designed to return to London "north about," meaning that they intended to sail around the British Isles to the north of Ireland and Scotland in order to avoid the privateer-infested waters in the Chops of the English Channel.⁴⁷ Later in 1712, after the beginning of negotiations for peace, the freight rates from Maryland to London declined to an average of £12 per ton.

With the year 1712, the first period of war and high freight rates came to an end. The tobacco colonies had suffered severely through most of the War of the Spanish Succession from the high freight rates resulting from the scarcity of shipping and the heavy losses of the British mercantile marine, as well as from the loss of European markets for tobacco. Between 1702 and 1712 freight rates from Maryland to England rose from £3 to £11 above the peacetime norm of £7 per ton, and the average rate for the war as a whole was £15 per ton, more than double the rate in time of peace.

II

Although in 1713 the British tobacco trade had not yet recovered from its wartime depression, freight rates in Maryland dropped to £8 per ton. The details which six of the captains added to their freight notices in Anne Arundel County are significant. Five specified that the hogsheads were to be of the "new gauge," that is, of the dimensions established by the law passed in 1711 to force the Maryland planters to make their hogsheads smaller and of the same size as those used in Virginia, with staves forty-eight inches long and headings thirty inches in diameter.⁴⁸ One master,

⁴⁶ A. A. Deeds, Liber IB No. 2, 1712-18, p. 216; A. A. Deeds, Liber PK, 1708-12, p. 380.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 441, 446; cf. [Jameson], "Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland, 1705-06," *A. H. R.*, XII, 339.

⁴⁸ For the long struggle of the tobacco merchants to secure uniformity in this

in addition to advertising freight for consignments to England at £8, also signified his willingness to carry tobacco to Holland for £9 per ton.⁴⁹ Since the English Navigation Acts forbade direct exportation of tobacco to European countries, one is left to speculate whether the captain contemplated a bare-faced violation of the laws, or intended to unlade in some British port, pay the half-penny per pound duty on re-exported tobacco, and then proceed on his voyage.⁵⁰ The reason for his offering the option is no mystery, however. As a consequence of a financial and commercial crisis, complicated by a revision of the customs regulations for the collection of the duties on tobacco, little tobacco could be either sold or stored in England.⁵¹ Thousands of hogsheads of tobacco, for which the merchants could neither find buyers nor pay the duties, had been rotting in the holds of vessels which had arrived in the Thames during 1712.⁵² Some of the English merchants, therefore, had shipped tobacco to Holland for storage, an example which the captain probably suggested the Maryland planters might follow.⁵³

In 1714, the British tobacco trade recovered rapidly as a result of reviving European demand, new Parliamentary legislation to ameliorate the regulations for the collection of the tobacco duties, and the prospect of much diminished supplies from the English colonies.⁵⁴ The tobacco colonies, in fact, proved unable in 1714 to produce sufficient tobacco both to satisfy the great number of purchasers in the country and to lade the vessels which came into the Chesapeake for tobacco freights. Torrential rains in 1713 drowned much of the crop in Virginia and Maryland, and when the fleet arrived in Maryland the following year, the planters were fully aware of their strong bargaining position.⁵⁵ All four of the captains who published their freights in Anne Arundel County between May and October, 1714, set their ships up at £6 per ton.

particular and for the short duration of this law, which was repealed in 1715, see Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation," p. 124; and Middleton, *op. cit.*, 116-117.

⁴⁹ A. A. Deeds, Liber IB No. 2, 1712-18, p. 18; cf. *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 329-330.

⁵⁰ E. E. Hoon, *Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786* (New York, 1938), p. 38.

⁵¹ Leonidas Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 41-44.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 43, note 13.

⁵³ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 329-330; Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation," p. 123.

⁵⁴ L. C. Gray, *op. cit.*, I, 246, 269; Dodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

⁵⁵ William Bassett to Philip Ludwell, Virginia, 22 September, 1713, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, No. 4 (October, 1915), 359.

In the four succeeding years conditions in the trade continued to favor the planters, and the demand for freight fell short of the available shipping space until the summer of 1719. A long drought in 1714 shortened the tobacco crops of Maryland and Virginia even more than had the wet weather of the previous year, and the general assemblies of both colonies considered laws to relieve those owing debts in tobacco.⁵⁶ In 1715 the captains of all but one of eight vessels advertised their ships at less than £7, and three of them offered freight at £5 per ton. In the winter of 1715-16, eight masters published their rates at £7, but when more ships arrived in the spring, the going rate again declined to £6. In July Captain Thomas Creed of the *Forward Galley* offered to take on freight at £4 per ton "wth Liberty to the Consigner to Consigne to whom they please (but rather if it suits Conveniency to M^r Jon^a Forward Merch^t in Londⁿ." ⁵⁷ Again in the winter of 1716-17, the captains of three early ships attempted to raise the rates to £7, but with even less success than the year before. Indeed, Captain William Lax of the *Concord*, who set up at £7 per ton on January 9, lowered his rate to £6 before the end of the month; and the masters of all the later arrivals published their freight at £6 per ton.

The first five ships to arrive in late 1717 and early 1718 were advertised at £7, but once again the captains failed in their bid to raise the rate. On June 6, the master of one late arrival offered the unusually low freight of £4 per ton "provided the Freighter brings on board the said Ship his Tobacco within a fortnight from the date hereof"; and the captain of another late ship advertised both liberty of consignment and a rebate of £1 per ton to those planters who would deliver their tobacco on board.⁵⁸ The first seven vessels to arrive in the winter of 1718-19 came in within two months of each other. Although all the masters initially published their freight at £7 per ton, the last four arrivals offered liberty of consignment as well. Even so, four of the seven had to drop their rates to £6 before the beginning of summer.

⁵⁶ For Virginia, Dodson, *op. cit.*, p. 55; for Maryland Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation," pp. 122, 125, and *Arch. Md.*, XXIX, 479-480.

⁵⁷ A. A. Deeds, Liber IB No. 2, 1712-18, p. 286.

⁵⁸ A. A. Deeds, Liber IB No. 2, 1712-18, p. 464; many ships returned to London from Maryland in the summer of 1718 "Considerably dead freighted," according to a letter of August 1, 1718, to Messrs. Foxley & Medcalfe, Higginson and Bird Letterbook, Galloway-Maxy-Markoe Papers, Manuscript Division, Liberty of Congress.

The planters' halcyon days of subnormal freight rates did not last. The balance of bargaining power, which short crops and increased demand for tobacco had given to the planters in the years from 1713 through 1718, tilted distinctly in favor of the charterers and shipmasters in 1719. In that year, the supply of tobacco passed the level of effective demand; seamen's wages and insurance premiums on British ships rose as a consequence of armed clashes between England and Spain; and perhaps more important still, a speculative boom gripped the commercial nations of western Europe. As the people of France, Holland, and England indulged in that orgy of speculation which culminated in the collapse of the Mississippi and South Sea Bubbles in 1720, legitimate trade suffered from a scarcity of fluid capital and from the rising costs of materials and labor.

From August, 1719, through November, 1721, all the freight rates published in Anne Arundel County were at or above the peacetime norm of £7 per ton. In August, 1719, Captain Henry Sampson of the *Experiment* offered freight at £7 for tobacco delivered on board and £8 if "... Rowled by the Ships Saylors."⁵⁹ The next arrival also put his vessel up at £8 per ton, with liberty of consignment; and in May, 1720, another master posted his freight at £7 15s. All the rest of the shipmasters who advertised their freight before July, 1720, asked £7 per ton. Few of the captains who arrived after that date, however, were content with the average peacetime freight.⁶⁰ The first two set up their ships at £8 and £8 10s., and the master who asked the higher freight also named the merchant in London to whom the shippers were to consign their tobacco. Having apparently succeeded in loading his vessel at above-average rates in 1719, Captain Sampson again raised his rates in November, 1720, to £9 per ton for tobacco delivered to the ship and £10 for hogsheads fetched by the ship's company. Possibly by way of compensation for these high rates, he offered liberty of consignment to any merchant in London. Two other captains, Thomas Apps and Darby Lux, also tried to charge more than £8 per ton, but both had later to reduce their freight not just to £8 but to £7. The average rate for the year 1721, however, was closer to £8 than to £7, and no fewer than

⁵⁹ A. A. Deeds, *Liber C. W.* No. 1, 1719-22, pp. 52-53.

⁶⁰ Cf. Wright, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 20.

eleven masters named the merchants to whom their cargoes were to be consigned.

In two of the next four years, short crops of tobacco pushed down the prevailing freight rate in Anne Arundel County to £6 per ton; and in all four years, only a few captains even tried to raise the rate above the peacetime norm. In 1722, the masters of two early ships, one of which was the *Experiment*, Captain Sampson, published their freights at £8; but until the return of the *Experiment* under a new captain at the start of the next shipping season, every other vessel was set up at £7. The rate of £7 per ton also prevailed in 1723, but late in May Darby Lux dropped his freight to £5 per ton with liberty of consignment in an attempt to get loaded without waiting for the new crop. His effort failed,⁶¹ and on October 22 he again advertised for freight, at £7 per ton with liberty of consignment. He was no more fortunate the second time around. The tobacco crop of 1723 turned out shorter than usual, and in 1724 the planters again had the pleasure of forcing the shipmasters down to £6 per ton. An early summer drought and an August hurricane, which together destroyed nearly one third of the 1724 tobacco crop in Virginia and Maryland, enabled the Maryland planters to hold the rate at £6 through most of 1725.⁶²

In contrast to the numerous, though comparatively small, variations in tobacco freight rates during the first decade after the Treaty of Utrecht, for fifteen years after 1725 the rates rarely varied from the peacetime norm of £7 per ton. In 1727, when a Spanish war threatened but failed to materialize, one captain made his freight charge dependent on the event. He advertised at £7, or £10 "(if there be a warr)." ⁶³ In 1730, because the 1729 crop of tobacco was short, seven vessels loaded in Anne Arundel County at £6 per ton.⁶⁴ Seven captains in 1734 took notice of another threat of war. One of the seven, Captain Walter Hoxton of the *Baltimore*, published his freight as £7 per ton, "(Provided a Warr is not Proclaimed in England before the departure of

⁶¹ Thomas Cable to John Mole, July 1, 1723, Letterbook of Thomas Cable, Ac. # 53,632 Maryland Historical Society.

⁶² L. C. Gray, *op. cit.*, I, 270; *Arch. Md.*, XXXVI, 576-578.

⁶³ A. A. Deeds, Liber SY No. 1, 1724-28, p. 236.

⁶⁴ Dr. Charles Carroll to his English correspondents, "Accounts and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1923), 332-334.

the said Ship out of this Province) the freighters Consigning their Tobacco's to M^r Samuel Hide Merchant in London. The said Ship usually Carries about Nine Hundred Hogsheads of Tobacco But in Case of a Warr the said Walter Hoxton will take no more than Seven Hundred, that She may be in a Sailing Trim. She is already well fitted for defence and man'd with thirty five Men which shall be augmented to fifty if to be procured in Maryland or Pensilvania and in such Case the freight to be twelve Pounds Sterling. . . ." ⁶⁵ One captain in 1735 and another in 1739 advertised rates below £7, but with these few exceptions the normal peacetime rate of £7 prevailed until 1740.

Thus, during the long years of peace from 1713 through 1739, freight rates in the Maryland tobacco trade were generally, but not uniformly, low. The rates published by individual shipmasters varied from £4 to £10 per ton, and it is significant that the greatest variations from the norm of £7 occurred in the decade following the war. Except for 1730, when seven ships loaded at £6 per ton, all the years in which the going rate was either lower or higher than £7 per ton were in the span between 1714 and 1725. The abnormally low rates reflected especially short crops of tobacco in 1713, 1714, and 1724; more vessels loading on freight than could be supplied; and great numbers of orders for the purchase of tobacco in the colony. The higher rates of 1720 and 1721, on the other hand, almost certainly resulted from the speculative boom and financial crises associated with the Mississippi and South Sea Bubbles. The failure of the rates to fluctuate around the peacetime norm after 1725, except in 1730, must be attributed to a remarkable coincidence of available shipping space with tobacco consignments from Maryland.

III

Although the long-threatened Anglo-Spanish conflict finally broke out in 1739, freight rates in the Maryland tobacco trade remained at £7 per ton through the spring of 1740. Then they rose to £9. Towards the end of the year, three captains attempted

⁶⁵ A. A. Deeds, Liber R. D. No. 2, 1733-37, p. 63. This Walter Hoxton was the author of the best colonial chart of the Chesapeake. His relationship to the captain of the same name who was in Maryland in 1699, 1708, and 1712 is not clear. Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75; A. A. Deeds, Liber W. T. No. 2, 1702-08, p. 666; *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 329.

to increase their freights to £10 or £12, but concerted opposition by the planters of Anne Arundel County forced these shipmasters to publish their freight at the current figure, £9 per ton.⁶⁶ Freights remained at that rate until the French entered the war against England in 1744. Soon afterwards, the freight rate from Maryland to London climbed to £12 per ton. In 1745 a few ships loaded in Anne Arundel County at £13, but most of the masters either asked £12 in the beginning or found themselves obliged to lower their freight to that figure in order to get loaded. Early in 1746 a few vessels were set up at £13, but the captains of all the later arrivals demanded £14 per ton. The masters of the early ships in the spring of 1747 offered freight at £14 if the tobacco was delivered on board, but insisted on £15 for any fetched by the ship's company. Later in the year freight rates rose to £16 in Maryland, and this rate remained standard until the spring of 1748. Then, with peace in sight, freight rates fell rapidly, first to £14, then to £12, and finally, on the cessation of hostilities becoming known in the colony, to £8 per ton.

The pattern of freight rates during the years of war from 1740 to 1748 depended almost entirely on the severity of the strain on the mercantile marine and financial resources of Great Britain. From 1740 until the entry of France into the war against England in the spring of 1744, the British navy and privateers provided good protection for merchant shipping in home waters, although Spanish privateers attacked British ships in the West Indies and off the Virginia Capes with some success. In these circumstances British trade prospered, and freight rates in the tobacco trade rose only enough to compensate for slightly increased insurance premiums and higher seamen's wages. From 1744 to 1748, on the other hand, the combined naval and privateering strengths of France and Spain inflicted heavy losses on British merchant shipping all over the Atlantic. The British navy was hard pressed to provide adequate convoys; the British war effort required the diversion of many men and ships from the paths of commerce; and British merchants suffered heavily from the manifold dislocations of war. In addition, internal rebellion and a financial crisis in 1745 and 1746 contributed to the depression of British trade. These adverse circumstances were reflected in the freight

⁶⁶ Brice Protest Book, 1734-43, pp. 126-180, Maryland Historical Society.

rates from the tobacco colonies, which climbed sharply in 1744, rose steadily until 1747, and remained at a high level until peace was again assured in 1748. Not one captain offered liberty of consignment in Anne Arundel County during the last four years of the war.⁶⁷ It should be noted, however, that the highest rate of freight from Maryland to London in this war was £2 below the maximum for the years 1702-1712. Without question the lower peak in the later war was a reflection of the increasing size of the British mercantile marine and of the growing superiority of the British navy over its European rivals.

IV

In 1748, freight rates declined in four stages from £16 to £8 per ton. When the *Winchelsea*, Captain Thomas Cornish, arrived in the Severn River at the end of February, her master posted his freight at £16 per ton. Early in May, Cornish advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* that his ship carried eighteen guns and forty men and would take in tobacco consigned to John Hanbury of London at £14 per ton.⁶⁸ She did not get loaded at that rate either, for on July 13, Cornish changed the rate in his *Gazette* advertisement, "(according to his Promise)," to "*Twelve Pounds Sterling per Ton, being the Freight other Ships go at.*"⁶⁹ The *Winchelsea* probably completed her lading at this last figure. On September 28, the *Gazette* noted her departure from the Severn in the previous week with 950 hogsheads of tobacco on board.⁷⁰ Less than two weeks later, the master of another ship loading in the Severn for John Hanbury both posted and advertised his freight at £8 per ton.⁷¹ Even at this rate, which was then current throughout the province, many captains had great difficulty in getting their ships loaded.⁷²

⁶⁷ Cf. Henry Callister to Foster Cunliffe & Sons, Oxford in Maryland, 12 November, 1745. "Ships seldom or never take fra^t that is not consigned to their Owners or those that Charter them . . ." (Callister Papers, Maryland Diocesan Library, on deposit in the Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore, Maryland.)

⁶⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, May 11, 1748, p. 3, col. 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1748, p. 3, col. 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, September 28, 1748, p. 3, col. 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, October 19, 1748, p. 3, col. 2.

⁷² See the protests in Notary Public Book, 1744-1797, pp. 60-92, Hall of Records; "Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII, No. 1 (March, 1928), 44, 48, 51.

The rapid decline of the freight rates and the great difficulty most masters experienced in getting loaded in 1748 were the resultants of three complementary forces: the determination of the Maryland planters to have their innings after the long years of high wartime freight rates, the smaller-than-average tobacco crop housed in 1747 for export in the following year, and the reduction of the quantity of tobacco shipped on consignment because of the high cash prices in the colony.⁷³ All three of these trends continued through 1750.⁷⁴ In 1749 freight rates dropped the remaining £1 per ton to the peacetime norm of £7, and a number of ships again had great difficulty in completing their loadings.⁷⁵ After 1749, with a few unimportant exceptions, the normal peacetime freight rate of £7 per ton prevailed through 1755.

The significance of the freight rate entries for the years of peace from 1748 through 1755 lies not in the rates charged but rather in the smaller number of vessels loading tobacco on freight in Anne Arundel County. Before 1748, from ten to sixteen ships had loaded in the county in most years; but in five of the seven succeeding years, the masters of only seven vessels posted their freight rates in Anne Arundel. The principal reasons for this decline seem to have been: *first*, the passage of the 1747 tobacco inspection act, which favored an increase in the quantity of tobacco sold in the country and consequently lessened the proportion of the crop annually consigned to London merchants; *second*, a geographical shift in the chief areas of Maryland tobacco production from the Tidewater region into the Piedmont of Prince Georges, Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties, whence the easiest trans-

⁷³ Samuel Galloway to Joseph Adams, May 12, 1748, Galloway-Maxy-Markoe Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Dr. Charles Carroll to William Black, merchant in London, July 24, 1748, and March 20, 1749, "Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXII, No. 4 (December, 1927), 375-376, and XXIII, No. 1 (March, 1928), 51; and Stephen Bordley to William Hunt, November, 1749, quoted in Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation," p. 178.

⁷⁴ Henry Callister to Charles Craven of Liverpool, Wye River, Maryland, November 12, 1749, and to Robert Whitfield of Liverpool, November 16, 1749, Callister Papers; Dr. Charles Carroll to William Black, merchant in London, Maryland, November 14, 1750, "Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII, No. 4 (December, 1928), 383; Stephen Bordley to Flowerdew & Norton, Annapolis, October 31, 1750, Stephen Bordley Letterbook, 1749-52, Md. Hist. Soc.; and William Anderson of London to James Hollyday, January 29, 1751, Hollyday Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁷⁵ Maryland Notary Public Record Book, 1744-1797, pp. 96-120, Hall of Records.

portation to market lay through the "freshes" of the Patapsco, the Patuxent, and the Potomac rivers rather than through the brackish, teredo-infested tidal estuaries of Herring Bay, West River, South River, and Severn River; and *finally*, the gradual substitution of diversified farming for tobacco planting in much of Maryland.⁷⁶ The effect of these changes was to stabilize Maryland tobacco production at somewhat under 30,000 hogsheads *per annum*, to diminish the proportion of the crop grown in Anne Arundel County, and to decrease considerably the quantity of tobacco annually exported from the county on freight.⁷⁷

V

Although freight rates rose during the Seven Years' War, the decline in the number of vessels loading tobacco on consignment in Anne Arundel County continued. In fact, so few entries of freight rate notices appear in the county records for these years that it is no longer possible to consider the going rate in Anne Arundel as the current rate for the whole province or even, in some years, to ascertain what the average rate was in Anne Arundel County itself. In 1756, three ships loaded at £9 per ton and two at £8 10s. The following year three vessels took in tobacco at £13 and two at £14, the highest rate posted in the county during this war. Short crops, high cash prices in Maryland, and improving control of the seas by the British navy reduced freight rates to £12 per ton for the next three years; and in 1761, although the ships had been chartered in England for as much as £12 per ton, the planters forced freight in Maryland down to £10.⁷⁸ Freight rates rose again in 1762 because of the entry of Spain into the war as an ally of France. The three ships whose freight rates appear in the county records were set up at £11, £13, and the "current freight," which seems to have been £12 per ton.⁷⁹ As no

⁷⁶ Paul H. Giddens, "Trade and Industry in Colonial Maryland, 1753-1769," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, IV, No. 3 (May, 1932), 512-538, esp. 515, 538. C. P. Gould, "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students*, (New Haven, 1931), pp. 225-251. Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation," p. 185; Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 96-100, 111-112.

⁷⁷ Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

⁷⁸ Silvanus Grove to Samuel Galloway, London, February 2, 1761, Galloway-Maxy-Markoe Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁷⁹ The ship *Essex*, Captain Robert Curling, anchored in the Patuxent, was freighted

entries of freight notices have been found in the Anne Arundel records for the two succeeding years, both the table and the commentary have been concluded at this point.

Most of the general conclusions which can be drawn from this long series of entries have been discussed in the introductory paragraphs, but it will do no great harm to repeat the more important ones here. The normal peacetime freight rate in the Maryland tobacco trade was £7 per ton, £1 lower than in the neighboring colony of Virginia. In wartime, the average freight rate was nearly twice as high, and the variations from the norm were more frequent and larger than in time of peace. Indeed, wars had a greater effect on freight rates in the tobacco trade than anything else; a Virginia merchant lamented during a war scare, "Alas! poor Virginia, say I: What's to become of thee. High Freights and higher Insurances will draw off thy best Blood; and soon bring on a Hectek." ⁸⁰ By comparison to wars, all other influences on freight charges were of minor significance. Short crops, large orders for the purchase of tobacco in the colony, and a surplus of shipping in Maryland waters all tended to lower freight rates; the opposite conditions drove them up. Even in combination, however, these minor influences rarely caused an alteration of more than £2 per ton.

In addition to the purely statistical evidence these entries provide for the fluctuations of the freight rates in the Maryland tobacco trade over the first half of the eighteenth century, they show interesting trends in the handling of Anne Arundel tobacco. In the first place, as the century progressed, ships tended more and more to anchor in the "freshes" of either the Patapsco or the Patuxent.⁸¹ Annapolis, the port of entry for the Western Shore

at £12 per ton in September, 1762. Printed bill of lading in folder 1, box 3, Johns Papers, Deposit # 333, Maryland Historical Society.

⁸⁰ William Nelson to Mr. John Norton & Son, April 5, 1771, Frances Norton Mason, (ed.), *John Norton & Sons: Merchants of London & Virginia* (Richmond, 1937), p. 156. Cf. Dr. Charles Carroll to Wm. Woodward, Goldsmith in London, Maryland, November 18, 1747: "These are very difficult times with us haveing nothing but what go's and comes thro the fire and attended with great charges in freight and Insurance" ("Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXII, No. 4, [December, 1927], 360.)

⁸¹ See table, *post*, and for a specific example, the charter party of 9 April, 1762, between Philip Weatherall, owner of the ship *Darlington*, 210 tons, and Thomas Philpot of London, Merchant. The ship was to proceed to Patuxent for orders,

above Kent Island, retained some importance as an anchorage until the passage of the inspection act in 1747 and the rise of Baltimore in the 1750's and 1760's; but like Herring Bay, West River, and South River, the Severn River drainage basin provided neither extensive cargoes of tobacco nor moorings protected against the depredations of the shipworm.⁸² After 1752, when a deputy customs collector was established at Baltimore to enter and clear vessels, Annapolis steadily lost ground to both the Patapsco and the Patuxent. Since both of these rivers formed part of the county boundaries, many Anne Arundel planters must have shipped their tobacco on vessels which anchored and published their freight rates in either Baltimore or Prince Georges County.

Another development which is reflected in the table was the gradual decline in the number of vessels offering freight with liberty of consignment in peacetime. The reasons for this shift are less certain than those for the decline of the tidal estuaries as anchorages, but it is suggested that several other developments in the tobacco trade probably contributed to the change. First, as the number of planters indebted to London merchants tended to increase, more of them became obliged to ship their crops to their creditors, whose ships were thus assured of part of their lading. Second, the profitability of shipping was always marginal in comparison to the returns from handling tobacco on commission. As one writer put it in the *Maryland Gazette* in 1747, a merchant hardly ever sent a vessel to Maryland on freight "but for the Sake of the Consignments. . . ." ⁸³ Third, as the opportunities for selling tobacco in the country improved after the passage of the tobacco inspection act of 1747, even marginal profits from the operation of shipping in the consignment trade became rare. Only those merchants who could afford losing voyages risked chartering ships to load tobacco in Maryland on

to lie in any river except South River, ". . . in the Freshes out of the way of the Worms in the River . . ." (Folder 2, box 3, Johns Papers, Deposit # 333, Md. Hist. Soc.) Before 1726, of course, the Patapsco was altogether in Baltimore County.

⁸² In 1763, for instance, the warehouse at Annapolis inspected only 75 hogsheads of tobacco and the other warehouse on the Severn, at Indian Landing, only 309; both together would have provided no more than one full shipload. At Elkridge Landing on the Patapsco, on the other hand, 1696 hogsheads were inspected, a gain of more than 600 hogsheads since 1750. *Maryland Gazette*, November 14, 1750, and November 17, 1763.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, December 9, 1747, p. 1, col. 1.

freight, and most of the smaller consignment merchants were squeezed out of the Maryland tobacco trade. As a result of these circumstances, there was a tendency for the remaining merchants to send an annual ship to each of the large Maryland rivers from which they expected to draw their consignments; and these ships never offered liberty of consignment, except when unable to get a full cargo to their charterers.⁸⁴

The names of the merchants to whom freight was to be consigned and of the ports to which the ships were bound furnish overwhelming negative evidence that London merchants dominated the consignment business in the Maryland tobacco trade. Although the act of 1704 required the master of every ship loading tobacco on freight to publish his freight rate, only one entry in the table indicates an English port other than London as the ship's destination. Probably the London commission merchants charged higher freight rates than their few rivals in the outports, and the purpose of the act was achieved by enforcing its provisions against those most likely to charge exorbitant rates and by allowing competition and self-interest to regulate the remainder.

Indeed, there is every indication that the competition from factors purchasing tobacco for outport merchants and the rising importance of grain exports regulated freight rates in the tobacco trade of Maryland after 1750 more effectually than any provincial law could have done. The enforcement of the law apparently declined in vigor as the London merchants lost their almost monopolistic control over the Maryland tobacco trade, and virtually ceased when grain began to rival tobacco as a staple export.

[Ed. Note: The Tables to which the author refers will be published in June.]

⁸⁴ The letters of Stephen Bordley document many of the statements in this paragraph; see especially, to Flowerdewe & Norton, Annapolis, October 31, 1750, Stephen Bordley Letterbook, 1749-52, Maryland Historical Society; to same, Annapolis, September 3, 1757, and to Wm. Perkins, Annapolis, December 7, 1757, Letterbook, 1756-59. For the losses on shipping at the peacetime freight of £7 per ton, see *Maryland Gazette*, April 15, 1729, quoting letter of November 7, 1728, from the tobacco merchants of London; and for the period after the inspection act, the letter of William Anderson cited in note 74.

FORT McHENRY: 1814

EDITED BY
RICHARD WALSH

It is with pleasure that the Maryland Historical Society publishes the description of Fort McHenry and the battle of Baltimore on September 13-14, 1814 under the title *Fort McHenry: 1814*. The chief significance of the battle is that out of it grew the national anthem composed by Francis Scott Key. Because of this event, Fort McHenry has been ever since an object of American pride and attention.

After the war of 1812, Fort McHenry continued as an active military post for more than a century, serving as a prison during the Civil War. In subsequent national emergencies, while Fort McHenry was never again under attack, it was utilized by the federal government, and therefore underwent several vital changes. Old buildings, during the course of the years, were either razed or renovated, and new ones constructed. By the time it was turned over to the National Park Service as a National Shrine—fitting honor for an “old soldier”—the place was no longer recognizable for its “finest hour.” A restoration took place in the 1920’s and early 1930’s which did great credit to the post, but there was still work to be done.

In May 1957, as part of the program, Mission 66, the National Park Service began a new study of the fort as it looked when under attack.** Dr. S. Sydney Bradford, who directed this research, Mr. Franklin R. Mullaly of the National Park Service, and the editor were aided by Mr. Lee H. Nelson, whose architectural findings were invaluable, and Mr. G. Hubert Smith, without whose archeological discoveries much would have remained unknown. Also, for their patient labors thanks must be extended to Messrs. Raymond Ciarrocchi and Kevin Arundel, the editor’s assistants at Georgetown, and Mr. Jack Moore, graduate student at Johns Hopkins University.

Fort McHenry: 1814, which begins with Mr. Franklin Mullaly’s “Battle of Baltimore,” will be published in three parts. The other two “The Outworks of Fort McHenry” by Dr. Bradford and “The Star Fort—1814” by the editor will be published in June and September respectively.

In his section, Mr. Mullaly takes up the importance of the general battle and sets the scene of the bombardment. His detailed information, on the

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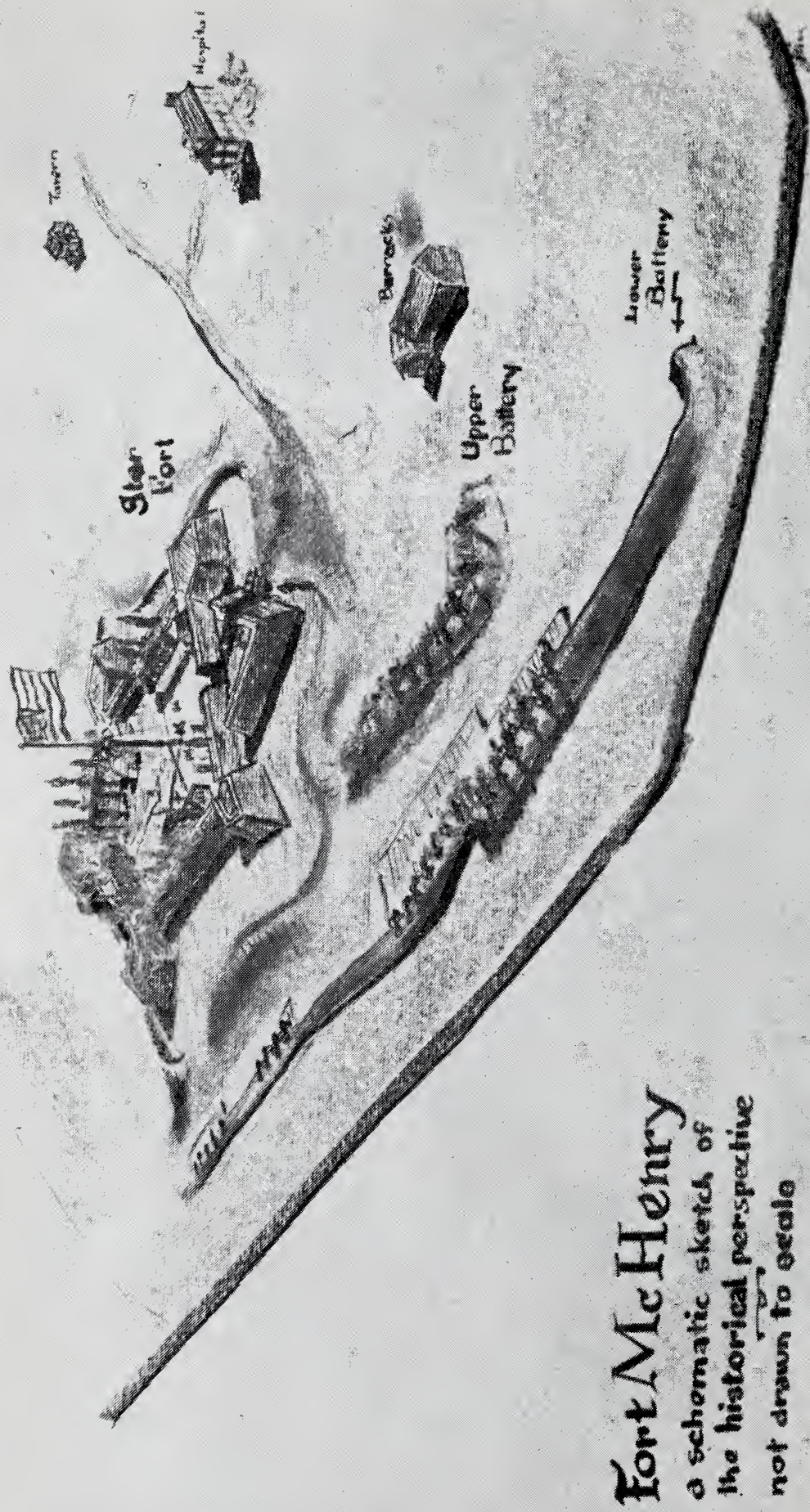
** See: S. Sydney Bradford, “The Restoration of Fort McHenry,” *Md. Hist Mag.*, LIII (September, 1958), 211-214.

battle, accounts by enemy personnel, and thorough examination of the documents, of which it is estimated the project used some 18,000 manuscript pieces alone, shed new light on the engagement. His conclusions that the bombardment of the Fort was secondary to the invasion at North Point, that Baltimore might have been taken had the British not erred in the invasion route, and that, in fact, the Americans gave an excellent account of themselves in the fight and were in the actual encounter outnumbered by the enemy, constitute exciting contributions to American history.

Dr. Bradford's painstaking work will describe many buildings and fortifications no longer existent at the Fort—like the old outworks, the water batteries which have long since disappeared. The editor's findings also, it is hoped, are interesting—his conclusions that the present-day fort belongs to the 1830's, not 1814, and that the builder was not Rivardi but several military architects, even including the people of Baltimore.

Thus begins *Fort McHenry: 1814*. It is sincerely desired that it will be informative and entertaining to our readers.

R. W.



Original sketch of Fort McHenry in 1814 by James M. Mulcahy from information given him by The Historical and Archaeological Research Project of the National Park Service. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

I. THE BATTLE OF BALTIMORE

By FRANKLIN R. MULLALY

1

THE DEFENSES OF BALTIMORE

FROM the beginning of the War of 1812, all persons concerned were well aware of the fact that Baltimore was the prime target of the British in the Chesapeake Bay area. As a base for large scale privateer sailings, as well as a center for substantial shipbuilding and mercantile activities, it was both a threat and a prize to the English high command. The Federal Government preoccupied as it was with the war on the northern frontier and remembering how well Baltimore had succeeded in resisting capture during the Revolution, showed little interest in the city's defense. In fact, only the immediate threat of invasion aroused the easy-going Baltimoreans to an awareness of the fact that they must contribute heavily from their own resources and labor, if the city was to be safe from assault and plunder.

In general, the various land and water approaches to the city were well suited to defense. Since the British possessed undisputed naval superiority in the Chesapeake Bay and its various tributaries, the water approach from the southeast was of primary importance. As shown on the map, the Patapsco River from its mouth at North Point on the Chesapeake led directly into the harbor of Baltimore. There were, however, certain natural obstacles to be overcome by an invading fleet. From North Point to Hawkins Point, the River was too shallow for ships of the line, being not more than 19 or 20 feet deep with a favorable tide, but from Hawkins Point to the City the depth increased to 27 or 30 feet.¹ The peninsula of Whetstone Point splits the River into two parts, the Northwest branch leading into Baltimore harbor and the Ferry Branch becoming the main

¹ Smith to William Jones, Secretary of the Navy, April 9, 1813, Library of Congress, Samuel Smith Papers, Box 16: hereafter: S. S.

estuary of the Patapsco River. Fort McHenry at the tip of Whetstone Point was ideally situated to sweep with gunfire the narrow passageway between it and the Lazaretto on Gorsuch's Point. The Ferry Branch on the other side of Whetstone Point was much wider and opened into the mouth of Ridgely's Cove which gave easy access to the southern part of the city.

On the eve of the Battle of Baltimore, the water approach to the city had been secured as follows:

(1) At the entrance to the Northwest branch of the Patapsco River, a boom composed of ship's masts had been stretched from Fort McHenry to the Lazaretto.² To further obstruct this passage a number of merchant ships were to be towed into position and sunk at the approach of the British fleet.³ To the rear of these obstructions and just inside the Northwest branch were eight barges under the command of Lt. Rutter (U. S. Flotilla). Each of these barges contained 34 flotilla men and was armed with eight or twelve pounder cannon.⁴ (Map)

(2) Defending the eastern end of the obstructions to the Northwest branch was the Lazaretto Battery (Map). This battery of three guns was mounted behind a parapet and operated by a force of 45 flotilla men under the command of Lt. Frazier (U. S. Flotilla). Also stationed at Lazaretto point were 114 other seamen of the Flotilla.⁵

(3) The keystone of the water defenses of Baltimore was Fort McHenry. From its position at the tip of Whetstone Point, its water batteries controlled the entrances to both the Northwest and the Ferry Branches of the Patapsco River. Fifteen of the thirty-six guns in the Water Batteries were large caliber, the remainder were twenty four and eighteen pounders. The Fort itself had mounted twenty one guns of varying caliber.⁶ The Water Batteries were commanded by Sailing Master Rodman of the Flotilla and were supported by Bunbury's and Addison's Com-

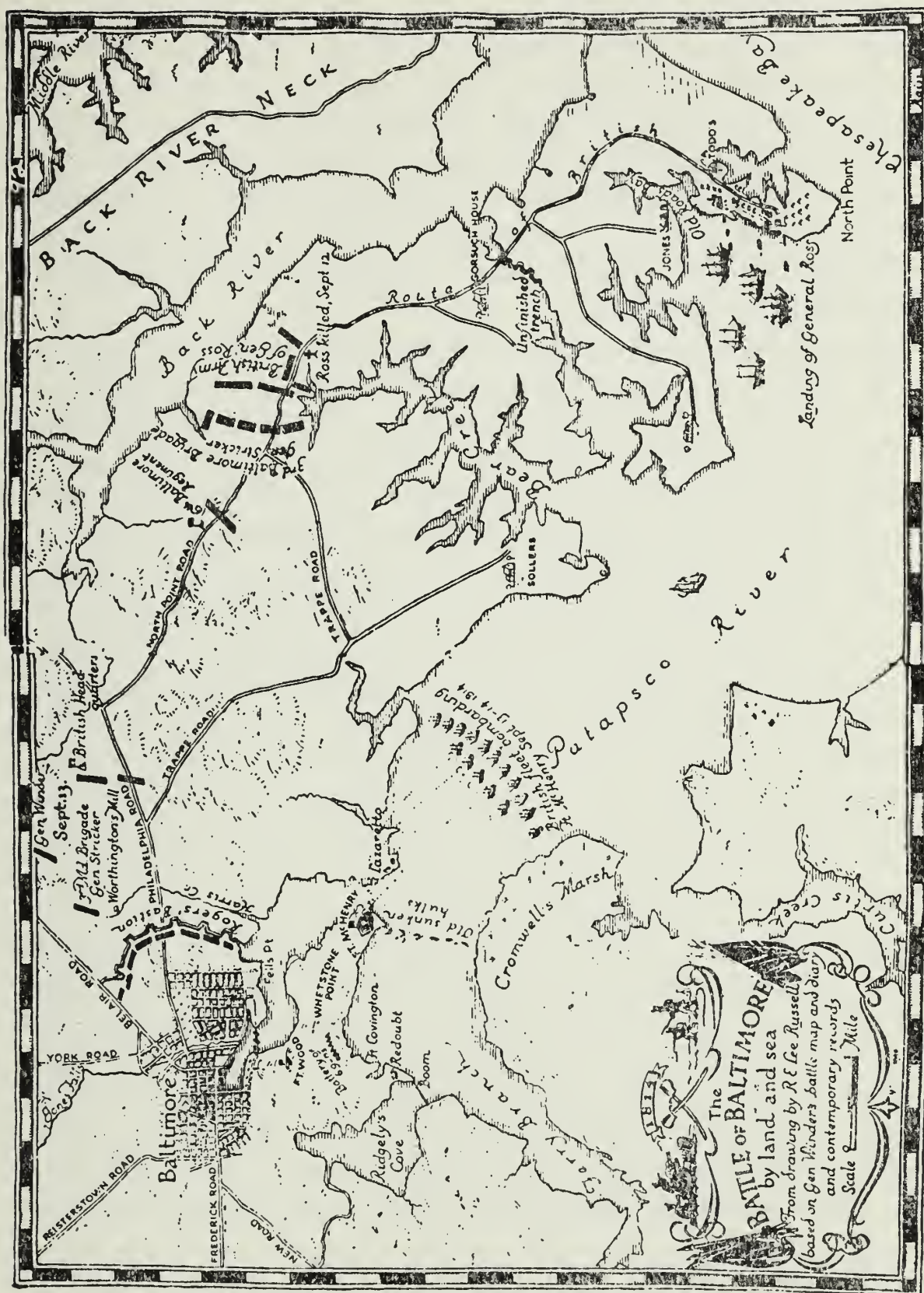
² Smith to Major Armistead, June 20, 1814, *ibid.*

³ Smith to the Baltimore Committee of Vigilance and Safety, Sept. 11, 1814, *ibid.*

⁴ Lt. Rutter to Commodore Rodgers, Sept. 11, 1814, Library of Congress, Rodgers Papers.

⁵ Commodore Rodgers to William Jones, Sept. 23, 1814, National Archives, Record Group 45, Office of Naval Records, National Archives—hereafter, N. A.; Record Group, R. G.

⁶ Captain Babcock to the Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1813, Buell's Collection of Engineer Historical Papers, N. A., R. G. 77.



Courtesy of the National Park Service.

panies of U. S. Sea Fencibles, and the Washington Artillery and Baltimore Independent Artillery Companies of the Maryland Militia. The guns on the bastions of the star fort were manned by Captain Evans' Company of U. S. Artillery and Captain J. H. Nicholson's Baltimore Fencibles. Detachments of the U. S. 36th and 38th Infantry totaling 527 men and under the command of Lt. Colonel Steuart and Major Lane were placed in the outer ditch of the Fort to repulse enemy landing attempts. Major George Armistead, U. S. A., was in overall command of Fort McHenry and its Water Batteries.⁷

(4) The north bank of the Ferry Branch of the Patapsco River from Fort McHenry as far west as Ridgely's Cove (Map) was vulnerable to an attack by-passing Fort McHenry. In order to protect this area, a number of works had been constructed. One and one-fourth miles to the west of Fort McHenry was the Babcock Battery (Map), a small sod work mounted with six eighteen pounders with a furnace for heating shot.⁸ Sailing Master Webster, U. S. Flotilla, and 52 Flotillamen operated this work.⁹ Not far from the Babcock Battery was Fort Covington (Map) which was about 1½ miles west of Fort McHenry. (This was a demi-revetted work containing perhaps ten guns.) Lt. Newcomb, U. S. N., third officer of the USS *Guerriere* and 80 seamen defended this small fort.¹⁰ To complete the chain of defensive works along the north bank of the Ferry Branch, a small redoubt (Map) was established on Ferry Point at the entrance to Ridgely's Cove. This was defended by Virginia militia drawn from Douglass' Brigade and Taylor's Regiment which were encamped along the Ferry Branch.¹¹ A boom similar to the one extending from Fort McHenry to the Lazaretto is shown on the map at the entrance to Ridgely's Cove between Ferry Point and Moale's Point. (Map). However, this was not constructed until after the battle.

The eastern land approach to Baltimore equalled the water approach in importance as a possible route of British invasion. Old Roads Bay near North Point (Map) was the best if not the

⁷ John Brannan, *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States during the War with Great Britain in the Years 1812, 13, 14, and 15.* (Washington, 1823), pp. 439-441.

⁸ Babcock to Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1813, Buell's Collection.

⁹ Rodgers to Jones, Sept. 23, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Smith to Monroe [Secretary of War], Sept. 9, 1814, S. S.

only anchorage capable of holding ships of the line and troop transports. There was a good road leading from the beaches at North Point right into the City. The terrain on the east side of the City was well suited to defense. Anchored on the southern end by the waters of Northwest Branch (Map), the defense lines described an arc along a series of hills as far as Belair Road. The heart of these defenses was Hampstead Hill which covered a wide area of the center of the line. A large number of cannon of various caliber and types were dug in on this Hill and were supported by a network of trenches and redoubts. Starting at its southernmost point at the Sugar House on the Northwest Branch and running in a north and then northwesterly direction as far as Belair Road this defense arc was constituted as follows: ¹²

(1) Near the Sugar House and fronting the mouth of Harris Creek was a one gun battery in charge of Midshipman Salter, USN and 12 seamen. (Map) This position was relatively safe from attack since the opposite side of Harris Creek at this point was virtually impassable with heavy woods and no roads.

(2) A short distance to the left of Salter's Battery was a five gun battery served by Sailing Master Ramage of the USS *Guerriere* and 80 seamen. This was located just to the right of Sparrows Point Road and effectively covered that road (Map).

(3) Fronting the Sparrows Point Road was a two gun battery manned by Sailing Master de la Roche of the USS *Erie*, Midshipman Field of the USS *Guerriere* and 20 seamen (Map).

(4) To the left of de la Roche's Battery was located the key defensive point of the Eastern defense lines. Here met the only two roads available to an invading force coming from North Point. A few yards to the east of the merging point of the Philadelphia Road and the Sparrow's Point Road was a seven gun battery under Lt. Gamble the first officer of the USS *Guerriere* and about 100 seamen (Map). This battery was placed in such a way that it could provide a crossfire with other batteries on either road. In the rear of the gun emplacements was a trench extending from Gamble's Battery to Ramage's Battery. This was occupied by the Marine Detachment of the USS *Guerriere* under the command of Lt. Kuhn.¹³

¹² Rodgers to Jones [Secretary of the Navy], Sept. 23, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

¹³ *Ibid.*

The preceding four positions covered the part of the defense line between the Northwest branch and the Philadelphia Road and the whole unit was called Rodgers Bastion after the commander of the naval detachment at Baltimore, Commodore John Rodgers. Colonel Steiner's 1st Maryland was formed in column in the rear of Rodgers Bastion during most of the Battle. Also under Rodger's command and used as a mobile unit were Major Randall's Pennsylvania Riflemen.¹⁴

The remainder of the eastern defense arc extending from the Philadelphia Road to Belair Road was held by militia infantry and artillery units. Gun emplacements were manned by the 1st Regiment of Artillery of the Maryland Militia which included 7 artillery companies averaging 60 to 64 men each. Each company had a standard equipment of 4 six pounders and the regiment maintained a lesser number of four pounders in addition to about 19 twelve and eighteen pounders loaned to it by the Federal Government.¹⁵ In the rear of the militia gun positions, Forman's and Stansbury's Maryland Brigades were established in earthworks. The combined infantry strength of these units was 5825 men.¹⁶

When it is realized that a frontal attack on this eastern defense position involved crossing a wide belt of land that had been cleared of buildings and trees and then climbing a steep hill that was thoroughly covered with direct and cross fire of both cannon and small arms, it becomes apparent that the city was well defended on the eastern land approach.

On its northern and western perimeter, Baltimore was almost entirely defenseless. This was principally due to the fact that it was commonly believed that the British Chesapeake Expedition lacked both the facilities and the inclination to engage in any long marches through the interior of Maryland and the District of Columbia. Their shortage of field artillery and cavalry made it dangerous for them to get too far away from the protection of the guns of their powerful fleet.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Baltimore was vulnerable to a land attack from the southwest, a fact that

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Smith to Committee of Public Supplies, May 20, 1813, S. S.

¹⁶ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 9, 1814, *ibid.*

¹⁷ William James, *A Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America* (2 vol.; London, 1818), II, 318.

became ominously evident after the Battle of Bladensburg and the capture of Washington. However, the equipment and manpower available were simply not sufficient to permit an extension of the powerful eastern defense line around the entire City, and the weakness of the southwestern approach had to remain a calculated risk for the remainder of the campaign.

It is necessary now to evaluate the men who were the City's defenders. The nature of the chain of command, the quality of leadership, the training, morale and equipment of the troops; these are the things that really determine the outcome of battles, campaigns and wars. Unfortunately, win, lose, or draw, everyone concerned with a battle attempts to put the most favorable interpretation on his own conduct in the affair and with the passage of time the individuals having the best biographers and apologists tend to receive the best treatment from history. It is fortunate that many of the defenders of Baltimore were copious letter writers and that before, during, and after the Battle they made a number of candid observations that did not appear in the official reports of the engagement.

From the beginning to end, the chain of command at Baltimore was a source of bitter controversy. Major General Samuel Smith of the Maryland Militia served as commander-in-chief of the defenses but he did so without legal authority. Baltimore and vicinity were part of the 10th United States Military District which was under the command of Brigadier General William H. Winder of the Regular Army. On March 13, 1813, Smith had assumed command of the defenses of Baltimore by order of Governor Levin Winder of Maryland.¹⁸ However, there were Federal troops quartered at Fort McHenry and in Baltimore under the command of Brigadier General Miller. General Miller did not believe that Smith had authority over him and expressed this view to Secretary of War Armstrong.¹⁹ The matter was then brought to Governor Winder's attention and he wrote to Smith stating: ²⁰

. . . My General Order of the 13th of March last directing you to take

¹⁸ Governor Winder to Smith, May 10, 1813, S. S.

¹⁹ General Miller to Armstrong [Secretary of War], May 7, 1813, Secretary of War, Letters Received, N. A., R. G., 107.

²⁰ Governor Winder to Smith, May 10, 1813, S. S.

the earliest opportunity of making the necessary arrangements of the Militia for the protection of the Port of Baltimore did not confer on you any authority beyond that which you possessed under the Militia Law. The meaning of that order was that you would proceed to complete the organization of the Militia under your command and place them in the best possible state for defense, of course your command as Major General commenced from that period. . . .

In July 1814, Brigadier General W. H. Winder, nephew of Maryland Governor Winder, was placed in command of the 10th U. S. Military District which included Maryland and the District of Columbia. With a powerful British expedition in the Chesapeake threatening invasion, General Winder attempted to raise a combined force of militia and regulars for the defense of the area. When Smith seemed reluctant to provide his quota of militia for this force, General Winder wrote to Smith invoking his authority under the Act of 1795 and ordering the dispatch of the 3rd Maryland Brigade to his command.²¹ After a conference with the Secretary of War over the matter, the Governor of Maryland wrote to Smith on August 19, 1814, stating that the Secretary seemed to be of the opinion that a Regular Army officer never comes under the authority of a militia officer regardless of rank. The Governor did not agree with this view but suggested to Smith that the matter be set aside temporarily and that he honor General Winder's requisition for troops.²² Smith went along with this somewhat belatedly, but reiterated his view that he would hold the supreme command should Baltimore be attacked.²³

On August 24, 1814, Winder and his army were routed at Bladensburg and the City of Washington captured. Since Baltimore was the next logical objective for the British, Winder went to Baltimore to take command. When Smith refused to recognize his authority, he wrote to the Secretary of War asking for his intervention.²⁴ By now, however, the situation had gone beyond the issue of the legal authority of Smith *vs.* Winder. It was a matter of public confidence. Winder's record did not inspire this.

²¹ W. H. Winder to Smith, Aug. 18, 1814, *ibid.*

²² Governor Winder to Smith, Aug. 19, 1814, *ibid.*

²³ Smith to Governor Winder, Aug. 19, 1814, Maryland Hall of Records, Adjutant General Papers, Letters to Governor and Council, 1755-1830.

²⁴ General W. H. Winder to Secretary of War, Aug. 27, 1814, Md. Hist. Soc., W. H. Winder Papers.

On March 12, 1812, he had received the direct commission of Lieutenant Colonel in the U. S. Army, although he had had only limited militia service on the company level.²⁵ In a little over a year, he had been promoted to Brigadier General on the Canadian front.²⁶ Shortly after this, he was rather ignominiously captured by the British in the woods near Stony Creek, and remained a prisoner until the spring of 1814, when he was exchanged and given command of U. S. Military District 10.

Sam Smith, on the other hand, had a distinguished record in the Revolutionary War, was a very powerful U. S. Senator from Maryland and had been for several years the ranking officer in the Maryland Militia. Furthermore all of the military units in Baltimore, with the exception of Major Armistead's small garrison at Fort McHenry, had been for some time under Smith's direct command. General Winder's uncle, the Governor of Maryland, and Secretary of War Monroe both knew a *fait accompli* when they saw one. Over Winder's bitter protests, he was ordered to unite his forces with Smith's command, but as a sop to his pride he was permitted to keep his title of Commander of the 10th District.²⁷

The problem of command was complicated still further when Commodore Rodgers, USN, and about 800 sailors and flotillamen arrived to assist in the defense of Baltimore. Although believing Winder to be rightfully in command, he took orders from Smith and compromised by sending his official reports directly to the Secretary of the Navy.²⁸ This irritated Secretary of War Monroe who requested President Madison to place naval personnel under War Department authority when they were serving in a joint command on land duty.²⁹ There is no record that the President took any action in the matter.

Within the naval detachment there was also serious friction over command. The officers of Commodore Barney's Flotilla who were attached to Rodgers command believed themselves to be outside of the regular navy establishment and Lt. Frazier of the Flotilla, who commanded the Battery at the Lazaretto oppo-

²⁵ Secretary of War Eustis to W. H. Winder, Mar. 12, July 7, *ibid.*

²⁶ Armstrong to W. H. Winder, Mar. 23, 1813, *ibid.*

²⁷ Monroe to Smith, Sept. 11, 1814, S. S.

²⁸ Rodgers to Secretary of the Navy Jones, Aug. 27, 1814, Md. Hist. Soc., Rodgers Scrapbook, Item No. 139.

²⁹ Monroe to Madison, Sept. 8, 1814, Library of Congress, Monroe Papers.

site Fort McHenry refused to take orders from Captain Spence who was Rodgers's executive officer. Spence demanded a court-martial for Frazier on the grounds of insubordination.³⁰ At this point (September 3, 1814) General Smith got into the controversy by complaining to Commodore Rodgers that the flotilla men wouldn't take orders from him, either. He asked Rodgers to get the Secretary of the Navy to declare them part of the Navy and put them under Rodgers's command.³¹

When word of Captain Spence's action against the flotilla men reached the ears of their redoubtable ex-commander Joshua Barney, he was recuperating from wounds received in the single-handed defense put on by the flotilla men at Bladensburg. Barney wrote an angry letter to Secretary of the Navy Jones in which he accused Captain Spence of being an enemy of the Administration, and a former party to the Burr Plot. At the same time he recommended that the flotilla men be placed under Rodger's command in the interest of harmony. The dispute was settled on this basis only two days before the British fleet arrived at Baltimore.³²

Turning from the tangled web of command difficulties to an analysis of the troop units making up the defense of Baltimore, we find an equally confused and unfavorable situation. On paper, Sam Smith had 16,391 men to garrison the city. This can be broken down as follows:³³

Militia (Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia) . . .	14,683
U. S. Army Regulars	905
U. S. Flotilla	581
U. S. Navy	222
Total	<hr/> 16,391

The training, morale and experience of these troops varied sharply. Most of the militia had little training before July 1814, when the threat of British invasion of the Chesapeake area became acute. Of the three brigades of Maryland Militia at Baltimore,

³⁰ Captain Spence to Rodgers, Sept. 1, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

³¹ Smith to Rodgers, Sept. 3, 1814, S. S.

³² Commodore Barney to [Secretary of Navy], Sept. 7, 1814. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, William Jones Papers, U. C. Smith Collection; see also Ralph Robinson, "Controversy over the Command at Baltimore, in the War of 1812," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (Sept., 1944), 177-198.

³³ Smith to Monroe, September 9, 1814, S. S.

the 1st Brigade under Brig. General Forman had the least training and experience. This brigade included the 30th and 49th Maryland from Cecil County and the 40th and 42nd Maryland from Harford County.³⁴ Some of the Cecil County troops of the 30th and 49th had limited battle experience on July 12, 1814 when four barges of British troops attempting a surprise attack on Elkton, Maryland were beaten off by the fire of an eleven gun battery.³⁵ Most of Forman's Brigade were drafted militia for terms of 60 days or more and they felt little enthusiasm for defending Baltimore. Three Quakers were drafted into the 40th Maryland but refused to use weapons against the enemy.³⁶ Desertion (and AWOLS) in this brigade were very numerous. On September 4, 1814, General Forman stated that he had approximately 2900 men in his brigade,³⁷ yet on September 9, General Smith in a report to the Secretary of War listed the strength of this unit as 2609.³⁸ Some indication as to the morale of this unit may be found in the fact that on September 5, a company commander, Captain Oldham, who was a friend of General Forman's was tried by court martial for being AWOL.³⁹ Only Forman's direct intercession with General Smith saved him from conviction.⁴⁰

General Forman appears to have been something less than an astute military commander. On September 8, three days before the British arrived, he informed his wife that his brigade would probably be discharged on September 13th or 14th.⁴¹ The next day, for the first time, he decided to institute a training program of some sort for his officers.⁴² On September 12, the day of the Battle of North Point, he considered the possibility that the British did not actually intend to attack Baltimore, but would strike instead at Wilmington, Delaware.⁴³

³⁴ W. M. Marine, *The British Invasion of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1913), pp. 195-198.

This is a table of organization of the Maryland Militia at the time of the War of 1812 based on sources not now available. It is very accurate in terms of sources that can be checked.

³⁵ General Forman, Elkton, to Mrs. Forman, July 12, 1814, Md. Hist. Soc., Forman Papers.

³⁶ Adjutant of the 40th M. M. to General Forman, Aug. 31, 1814, S. S.

³⁷ General Forman to Mrs. Forman, Sept. 4, 1814, Forman Papers.

³⁸ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 9, 1814, S. S.

³⁹ General Forman to Mrs. Forman, Sept. 5, 1814, Forman Papers.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 6, 1814.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1814.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1814.

The 11th Brigade commanded by Brigadier General Tobias Stansbury was composed of the 7th, 15th, 36th, 41st, and 46th Maryland regiments, all from Baltimore County.⁴⁴ These units were about equal to Forman's Brigade in the matter of training, but had some combat experience. About 1400 members of the brigade had participated in the Battle of Bladensburg. Their battle experience was brief, however, for all but a handful took to their heels without returning the first British fire.⁴⁵ Presumably, the attitude and morale of these Baltimore County troops would be better defending Baltimore, since their homes and places of business were in the area immediately surrounding the City. Brig. General Tobias Stansbury had had many years of experience in the militia, and at the Battle of Bladensburg he had shown considerable personal courage in remaining on the battlefield and trying to reorganize the fragment of his command that had not fled.⁴⁶

The best of the three brigades of the Maryland Militia, from the point of view of training, morale and experience was the 3rd Brigade commanded by Brig. General John Stricker. In addition to the 5th, 6th, 27th, 39th and 51st Regiments, [Infantry], the brigade also included the 1st Artillery Regiment, the 1st Rifle Battalion, and the 5th Regiment of Cavalry.⁴⁷ Since the spring of 1813, the 3rd Brigade had been training regularly. Notices of drill sessions and parades for the various units appeared in the Baltimore *American and Daily Advertiser*. A survey of the files of this newspaper during the War of 1812 indicated that drill sessions were frequently held on a weekly basis except during winter weather.⁴⁸

When the 3rd Brigade was ordered into the U. S. service on August 19, 1814, an exacting daily schedule was set up. Since most of the troops had jobs or business to attend to, drill was held from sunrise until 8:00 a. m. and later in the day, from 4:00 p. m. to 7:00 p. m.⁴⁹ The regiment of artillery had its own

⁴⁴ Marine, *op. cit.*, 195-198.

⁴⁵ W. H. Winder to Secretary of War concerning the command of District 10, [Sept.], 1814, W. H. Winder Papers.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Marine, *op. cit.*, 195-198.

⁴⁸ Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, No. 1, 1814, Dec. 22, 1814.

⁴⁹ Third Division Maryland Militia Orderly Book, Aug. 19, 1814, Md. Hist. Soc.

gun park and the ten artillery companies alternated drills with these cannon and those at Fort McHenry.

The cavalry regiment of the 3rd Brigade was composed of four troops which practiced regularly at a riding academy in Baltimore. They also performed regular reconnaissance duty between North Point and the City and provided men for vidette assignments between Baltimore and other places in the Chesapeake area.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, they had no combat experience and most of their officers were not familiar with the basic principles of cavalry battle tactics.

When we evaluate the 3rd Brigade, from the point of view of combat experience, we find that four units fought in the Battle of Bladensburg. The 5th Regiment under Lt. Colonel Joseph Sterett maintained its place in the line of battle when units on its right and left were fleeing. They followed orders well, even when the orders were ill-conceived and contradictory and were routed only at the point of British bayonets.⁵¹ The 3rd Brigade's Rifle Battalion held up the British advance at Bladensburg for a short time before taking to the woods.⁵² Two artillery companies, the American Artillerists and the Franklin Artillery also participated in the battle, although there is no specific comment about their conduct in any of the official reports.⁵³

The 2641 Virginia militia and the 1000 Pennsylvania militia volunteers were pretty much an unknown quantity. Both detachments had little, if any, battle experience and unlike the Baltimore units, they were not fighting for their homes.⁵⁴ General Smith used them in a reserve capacity throughout the Battle of Baltimore.

In summary then, the militia units included about 90% of the total defense force at Baltimore. From past experience, it was safe to assume that they would hold their ground only if they were dug in with plenty of artillery and supported by at least a few disciplined and battle-hardened troops. The detachment of 905 U. S. Army Regulars of the 36th and 38th Infantry⁵⁵ could not be counted on in this latter respect, for at the Battle of

⁵⁰ Thompson Diary, Md. Hist. Soc., *passim*.

⁵¹ The J. P. Kennedy MS, Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

⁵² W. H. Winder to the Secretary of War Concerning the Command of District 10 [Sept.], 1814, W. H. Winder Papers.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 9, 1814, S. S.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Bladensburg, they had withdrawn without firing on the approach of the British column.⁵⁶

As far as combat experience was concerned, there was little doubt that the most effective defenders of Baltimore were not soldiers at all. A detachment of the U. S. Navy and Barney's Flotilla under the command of Commodore Rodgers had distinguished themselves in a number of encounters with the British. On August 26, 1814, by order of the Secretary of the Navy, 450 sailors and marines had been withdrawn from the Delaware Bay defenses and arrived in Baltimore.⁵⁷ These sailors representing the crews of the USS *Guerriere* and the late USS *Essex*, arrived too late to participate in the Battle of Bladensburg. Part of this unit was assigned to the District of Columbia and Potomac River defenses, but 222 were added to the defenses of Baltimore as artillerymen.⁵⁸ The valiant men of Commodore Barney's Flotilla, who had bedevilled an overwhelmingly superior British fleet in the Bay and its tributaries, and then almost single handed held off the British Army at Bladensburg, joined Rodgers's command at the same time.⁵⁹ At the time of the Battle of Baltimore, this force numbered 803 men.⁶⁰ A final group of 280 trained U. S. Army Artillerymen and Sea Fencibles made up the garrison of Fort McHenry under the command of Major George Armistead.⁶¹

From the preceding evaluation of the defenses and defenders of Baltimore, it is not hard to understand why Major General Sam Smith grew increasingly apprehensive as the early days of September passed, and the attack of the powerful British expedition drew inevitably nearer. Although the physical defenses on the River and on the eastern side of the City were strong enough to hold off a frontal assault, there were many other ways of approaching and taking Baltimore that he could not guard against. He had enough sailors, flotilla men and regulars to man the guns on the Ferry Branch of the River, at Fort McHenry and in the Eastern Defense Line, but any attempt to meet a British out-flanking movement by moving militia out of their trenches would

⁵⁶ W. H. Winder to the Secretary of War Concerning the Command of District 10 [Sept.], 1814, W. H. Winder Papers.

⁵⁷ Rodgers to General Winder, Aug. 26, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

⁵⁸ Rodgers to Secretary of the Navy Jones, Sept. 23, 1814, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ W. H. Winder to the Secretary of War Concerning the Command of District 10 [Sept.], 1814, W. H. Winder Papers.

⁶⁰ Rodgers to Secretary of the Navy, Sept. 23, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

⁶¹ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 9, 1814, S. S.

have dire results. Plagued by friction among the commanding officers, weakened by an increasing rate of desertion in most units and getting little or no cooperation from the Federal Government, Smith was soon to face the combined efforts of Major General Robert Ross and Admiral George Cockburn, a team which had had little difficulty in capturing and burning the nation's capital against a force very similar to his. Only something approaching a miracle could save Baltimore from the same fate.

2

BRITISH CHESAPEAKE EXPEDITION OF 1814

The purpose now is to evaluate the attacking force in this engagement. To do this effectively, we need to know something of the origin and nature of the British Chesapeake Expedition of 1814.

From June 18, 1812, until March 31, 1814, the Government of Great Britain considered its war with the United States to be a matter secondary to the war with Napoleon in Europe. They could not spare the men or equipment necessary to bring the American conflict to a speedy and successful conclusion. Instead, they attempted to defend Canada against American invasion and conduct harrassing operations with the fleet against the Atlantic coastal areas. In these aims they were quite successful, although the results were due as much to American ineptitude as they were to British skill.

After March 31, 1814, however, the picture changed. On that date Paris fell and Napoleon left for exile on Elba. The British people and their Parliament were exhausted from years of bitter and costly warfare and wanted an end to the war with America. With a rising tide of opposition from wealthy mercantile interests, the Administration had to find a way to end the war expeditiously as well as successfully. In January 1814, it had taken two steps that pointed in this direction. First it concentrated more on attaining a peace conference and secondly, it ordered Sir Alexander Cochrane to replace the aging and ineffective Admiral Warren as commander of the North American Station of the British Navy.⁶²

⁶² Admiralty to Cochrane, Jan. 25, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 2, Vol. 933, 91-95.

During January and March 1814, plans were formulated for a combined army and naval operation against the United States for the Summer and Fall of the year. Intelligence concerning these plans fell into the hands of the American Prisoner of War exchange agent in England, a Mr. Beasley, and was forwarded to Secretary of State Monroe. Although this information was somewhat vague, it gave the United States an early warning of what was to come.⁶³

On May 6, 1814, orders were given by the Admiralty to reduce the number of men on British ships in the south of France and move them to Cochrane's North American Station.⁶⁴ This action was followed on May 20 by the organization of the Army expedition composed of veteran troops recently engaged in the fighting in Spain and under the command of one of Wellington's most able officers Major General Robert Ross.⁶⁵ According to Ross's instruction from the War office, his primary objective was to create a diversion that would be helpful to British operations in Canada and on the northern frontier of the U. S. He was to work closely with Admiral Cochrane, the commander-in-chief of the proposed expedition, and he was to keep his activities within a short distance of the coastline. He was ordered not to attempt to maintain permanent control of any American district since he did not have adequate artillery and cavalry support for any such occupation. On June 27, Ross and his troops set sail from the Gironde for Bermuda, arriving there on July 24.⁶⁶

The Admiralty in its instructions to Admiral Cochrane was not nearly as specific as the War Office had been with General Ross. In a secret dispatch of August 1, 1814, the scope of Cochrane's actions was extended significantly. He was now given the authority to send ships and men on assignments as he saw fit within the North American Station.⁶⁷

In July, Cochrane had sent 900 marines to join Admiral Cock-

⁶³ Beasley to Secretary of State Monroe, Jan. 5, Jan. 25, Feb. 11, Mar. 18, 1814, Melville Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

⁶⁴ Barron to Cochrane, May 6, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 2, Vol. 1380, Part 2, 107-108.

⁶⁵ Bathurst to Commanding Officer of Troops Detached from the Mediterranean for North American Service [May 20, 1814], Public Record Office, War Office 6, Vol. 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Croker to Cochrane, Aug. 1, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 2, Vol. 1380, 287.

burn, the commander of the Chesapeake Squadron, for the express purpose of keeping all American forces in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania occupied and away from the northern theater.⁶⁸ In a letter to the War Office reporting this action, he made it quite clear that the primary objective of his expedition went beyond the concept of diversionary action. He stated:⁶⁹

If troops arrive soon [Ross's expedition which joined him ten days later] and the point of attack is directed towards Baltimore I have every prospect of success and Washington will be equally accessible. They may be either destroyed or laid under contribution as the occasion may require. . . . I have it much at heart to give them a complete drubbing before peace is made—when I trust their northern line will be circumscribed and the command of the Mississippi wrested from them.

From this it seems clear that Cochrane saw the conquest of Baltimore and Washington as a powerful weapon to influence the Peace Conference at Ghent and bring the war to a close on British terms. By July 23, however, he had decided to postpone the attack on Baltimore and vicinity until October. The prevalence of ague and fever in the Chesapeake region during the summer months, caused him to think of raids on the New England coast.⁷⁰

One day later, on July 24, General Ross and his force arrived at Bermuda. Apparently this event caused Cochrane to discard his plans for action to the north, for on August 2, Cochrane, General Ross, and Rear Admiral Malcolm sailed for the Chesapeake. On August 14, for the first time, the entire expedition was brought together near the mouth of the Potomac and Cochrane, Ross, and Cockburn held a council of war.⁷¹

The three leaders of the expedition were well qualified for their posts. Sir Alexander Cochrane had had thirty-two years of command experience, attaining the rank of Captain in 1782 at the age of 24. Although he was one of Nelson's captains and had a good battle record, he was essentially an administrator and had even succeeded in getting elected to Parliament in 1802. As an admiral, he was not inclined to take unnecessary risks, and

⁶⁸ Cochrane to [Bathurst], July 14, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Cochrane to Admiralty, July 23, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiral's Dispatches, Vol. 506, Part 5.

⁷¹ James, *op. cit.*, II, 275.

he had a strong aversion to hurricanes which he had experienced during his tours of duty in the West Indies.⁷²

Rear Admiral George Cockburn had also been one of Nelson's captains, but in most other respects he differed from Cochrane. He was a specialist in hit and run and doing the unexpected. As commander of the Chesapeake Squadron during 1813-1814, he had methodically destroyed the will to resist of the inhabitants of both sides of the Bay. His technique was quite simple. He would appear before a coastal town without warning and land a party of sailors and marines. If there was no resistance, he seized all public stores and property, and forced the inhabitants to sell him such produce and livestock as he needed for the squadron. When the local militia attempted to make a fight of it, he retaliated by burning houses and seizing private property.⁷³ This system won Cockburn the hatred of all Americans in the area, but it worked and by the summer of 1814, he met little opposition wherever he went.

Major General Robert Ross was one of England's most able generals. A man of courage and imagination, he had been an officer for 25 years. His practice always of leading his men into battle produced high morale, but it also caused him to be severely wounded at the Battle of Krabbendam in 1799 and again in February, 1814 at the Battle of Orthes. He was still suffering from the effects of his most recent wound when he joined the Cochrane expedition.⁷⁴ Ross and Cockburn formed an excellent team for combined land and sea operations judging from the Battle of Bladensburg and the capture of Washington.

Turning now to the forces making up the expedition, we find that the naval unit was one of the most formidable yet seen in North American waters, including twenty warships, four of them of the line, as well as a large train of transports and supply ships.⁷⁵ Sixteen of the warships were shallow draft frigates, bomb ships and a rocket ship.⁷⁶ They were particularly well suited to an attack on Baltimore since they could get over the shallow bar at

⁷² Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (21 vol.; New York, 1908), IV, 640-642.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812* (2 vol.; London, 1905), II, 340.

⁷⁶ Theodore Roscoe and Fred Freeman, *Picture History of the U. S. Navy* (New York, 1956), picture No. 318.

the mouth of the Patapsco River and bring the forts and the town under fire from their long range mortars. Also attached to the fleet were a large number of barges armed with cannon and suitable for night operations in streams not accessible to ships.⁷⁷ Most of the frigates and bombships had seen action before in the rivers and inlets leading into the Chesapeake.

In addition to its regular naval duties, the fleet provided the expedition with a brigade of 600 seamen specially trained for land warfare. Captain E. Crofton of *Royal Oak* was in command of this detachment which was divided into four sections under Captains Sullivan, Money, and Ramsay, and Lieutenant Scott.⁷⁸ Operating with this detachment of seamen were the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of Royal Marines,⁷⁹ a detachment of marines from the ships and a corps of Colonial Marines recruited from runaway negro slaves.⁸⁰ The Royal Marine artillery unit was in charge of a Congreve rocket battery which was used more for its psychological effect than for the amount of actual casualties it produced.⁸¹

The army under Major General Ross consisted of detachments of Royal Artillery, Royal Sappers and Miners, the 4th, 21st, and 44th Regiments and the 85th Regiment of Light infantry.⁸² Its numerical strength at the time it left Bermuda for the Chesapeake was 3400 men.⁸³ This force was composed of veterans who had served under Wellington in the Spanish campaign. Although it was more than a match for anything that the Americans could throw against it in the open field, it had two serious deficiencies. Field artillery was limited to only six field pieces and two howitzers, and there were no cavalry units included in the command.⁸⁴ The small amount of artillery may have been due to the fact that the guns of the fleet and the rocket battery were considered to be adequate support.

Having evaluated the various components of the British expedition, we may now consider the manner in which it was to be

⁷⁷ Public Record Office, Admiralty Dispatches, *passim*.

⁷⁸ Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

⁷⁹ Cockburn to Croker, Sept. 15, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507.

⁸⁰ Proclamation of Admiral Cockburn, May 19, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507, Pt. 1. Also Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

⁸¹ Ross to Bathurst, Aug. 30, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Mahan, *op. cit.*, II, 340.

⁸⁴ James, *op. cit.*, II, 318.

employed in the Chesapeake. The planning of tactical operations began some time before the arrival of Ross's army. On July 17, 1814, in a letter classified as *Secret*, Admiral Cockburn submitted a detailed plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. He recommended that Ross's army be landed at Benedict, a short distance up the Patuxent River. He stated that this place "is only 44 or 45 miles from Washington and there is a high Road between the two Places which tho hilly, is good, . . . within 48 Hours after the Arrival in the Patuxent of such a Force as you expect [Ross's Army], the city of Washington might be possessed without Difficulty or Opposition of any Kind. . . ." He believed that the Patuxent near Benedict would be a safe anchorage for the ship in the event of a storm. A few weeks earlier he had conducted operations in the Patuxent, but intended to transfer his activities to another part of the Chesapeake area in order to avoid arousing any suspicion that a landing was contemplated there.

In an earlier letter, Cochrane had suggested Annapolis or Baltimore as good places to make the initial landing. Cockburn argued against this saying,

Annapolis is tolerably well fortified and is the spot from whence the American Government has always felt Washington would be threatened. . . . It is natural therefore to suppose Precautions have been taken to frustrate and impede our advance in that Direction, and to which Annapolis being fortified, a Station for troops, and not to be Approached by our larger Ships on Account of the Shallowness of the Water, it is possible and probable the Occupation of it might cost us some little time, which would of Course be taken Advantage of by the Enemy to draw together all the Force at his Command for the Defence of Washington. . . . Baltimore is likewise extremely difficult of Access to us from the Sea, we cannot in Ships drawing above sixteen Feet approach nearer even to the Mouth of the Patapsco than 7 or 8 miles and Baltimore is situated 12 miles up it having an extensive Population mostly armed [the militia], and a Fort for its Protection about a mile advanced from it on a projecting Point where the River is so narrow as to admit of People conversing across it, [the entrance to the Northwest branch between Fort McHenry and the Lazaretto (Map)] and this Fort I am given to understand is a work which has been completed by French Engineers with considerable Pains and at much expense and is therefore of a description only to be regularly approached and consequently would require time to reduce, which I conceive it will be judged important not to lose in striking our first Blow, but both Annapolis and Baltimore are to be taken without difficulty from

the land side, that is coming down upon them from the Washington Road. . . . Baltimore having no Defence whatever in its Rear. . . .⁸⁵

It is apparent from the later course of events that this plan of Admiral Cockburn was approved by Admiral Cochrane. As a result of their conference of August 15-16, Admirals Cochrane and Cockburn and General Ross made three important additions to Cockburn's plan. Captain Gordon, HMS *Seahorse* 16, was sent with a small squadron up the Potomac to bombard Fort Washington (Map) while at the same time, Admiral Cockburn was to proceed up the Patuxent River, after landing Ross's army at Benedict, and destroy Commodore Barney's Flotilla. Captain Parker with HMS *Menelaus*, 38 guns, and some marines had been sent up the Chesapeake Bay to conduct raids in the northern Chesapeake not far above Baltimore. All three of these naval operations were designed to confuse and divert the Americans from the landing of Ross's Army at Benedict.⁸⁶ These diversions succeeded so well that General Ross, after landing at Benedict on August 19, was able to take four days to march his men leisurely toward Washington by way of Marlborough and Bladensburg. On the evening of the 23rd his march was delayed only temporarily by about 1200 militia who fired a few shots and then fled. The next day (August 24th), at Bladensburg, Ross met an army of militia and regulars under Brig. General Winder and routed it. At 8:00 p. m., that same day, he seized Washington and destroyed the public buildings.⁸⁷

Up to this point, Cockburn's plan of operations of July 17 had been followed in detail. Now Baltimore was open to attack on its undefended land side by way of the road from Washington. With the dispersion of Winder's army, there was no organized force within immediate marching distance of Ross. There was nothing to prevent him from pressing on and taking Baltimore, which was, after all, the prize most sought after by the British expedition. However, on the following day, August 25th, he withdrew to the south and four days later his army reached Benedict, where it was reembarked on August 30. According to

⁸⁵ Cockburn to Cochrane, July 17, 1814, Library of Congress, Cockburn MSS, Secret Letters.

⁸⁶ Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 2, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 506.

⁸⁷ Ross to Bathurst, Aug. 30, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1.

Ross's report, the decision to withdraw instead of moving on to Baltimore was his own. The only reason that he gave for this action was that he feared a larger force of Americans might be gathered.⁸⁸ Perhaps the General remembered what had happened to other British forces at Saratoga and Yorktown. When we consider the fact that he had no cavalry for reconnaissance, his reluctance to remain in an exposed position fifty miles inland from the fleet is understandable. Nevertheless, Ross's failure to launch a land attack against the undefended rear of Baltimore then or later would seem to be the decisive factor in the successful defense of Baltimore. The poor showing of the American militia in the open field at Bladensburg was undoubtedly the main reason for the British command's decision to attack Baltimore on its strongly defended eastern side.

From August 30 until September 6, Ross's army remained aboard its transports under the guns of HMS *Royal Oak* in the Patuxent. On September 6, they left the Patuxent to join Admiral Cochrane's fleet which had been at anchor off Tangier Island. By September 10, the combined British expedition made its appearance at the mouth of the Patapsco River near North Point (Map). Throughout the 10th and 11th of September, the armada was occupied in taking position for a landing at North Point. At an early hour on September 12, the frigates and vessels of small draft began to land the troops and sailors.⁸⁹ The Battle of Baltimore had begun.

3

SEPTEMBER 12

Although the first units of the British fleet appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco on Saturday September 10, it was not until late on Sunday the 11th that the troop ships and their supporting vessels were ready to make a landing. During the previous week much time had been spent in drilling the soldiers and marines in the proper procedure for establishing a beachhead. At 3:00 a. m. on Monday September 12, the troops were assembled on the decks and the complicated business of getting them ashore in small boats and barges was begun. A light gun-brig had been

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

anchored, broad-side on, within a cable's length of the beach, in a position where it could cover the landings with grape and cannon shot. As each boat touched shore, the soldiers ran up the slope to the ridge overlooking the water, where they spread and took cover on the ground. Within half an hour after the landings had started, more than a thousand men had taken position on the edge of the beach, and by 7:00 a. m., the beachhead was accomplished.⁹⁰

When scouts had determined that there were no American forces in the vicinity, the troops were assembled into assault units in a large field near the beach. Three companies of light infantry led the advance. They were followed by the light brigade consisting of the 85th Light Infantry and light companies from the 4th and 21st Infantry. Next in the line of march was the brigade of 600 seamen armed with muskets. The remainder of the infantry and the marines made up two brigades that brought up the rear. The British had covered about three miles when they came to a partially completed defense position across a very narrow neck of land (see Map). A number of Americans were still employed in the completion of this work, by means of deepening a ditch and strengthening its front by a low abattis, when they were surprised by the British advance unit. Most of these men escaped except a few dragoons that fell into the hands of the advance party. Not knowing whether the main American force was near, General Ross halted the column briefly until the rest of the army caught up.⁹¹

During the landing and movement toward Baltimore of the British army, the Americans under General Sam Smith had been taking their own countermeasures. On Sunday, September 11, while the British fleet was assembling off North Point, the 3rd Brigade, Maryland, which was composed almost entirely of Baltimore City men, was sent out to impede any possible British advance. Marching by way of the old Philadelphia Road and Long Log Lane, the 3rd Brigade reached the Methodist Meeting House near the head of Bear Creek by 8:00 p. m. Sunday night. The main body remained over night at this point while the Rifle Battalion went two miles further and the cavalry set up headquarters at

⁹⁰ G. Gleig, *A Subaltern in America* (London, 1833), pp. 112-113.

⁹¹ Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

Gorsuch's Farm (see Map).⁹² Videttes spread out within the area around the beach at North Point and detected the first movement of the British landing operation and sent word back to Stricker's Headquarters at the Meeting House. At 7:30 a. m. Stricker hurriedly sent this news back to General Smith in Baltimore. In this dispatch he stated his intention of occupying the unfinished entrenchments just past Gorsuch's farm with two regiments and some artillery (Map). He ended the message in a somewhat discouraged fashion: "We are sadly off for provisions, having no means of cooking our *meat* or *flour*. The Committee [should] send us some tyle pots if Camp Kettles cannot be had—please send a fresh dragoon with any orders you may have—and let the bearer ride leisurely back—the enemy are advancing quickly, being already near Gorsuch's." ⁹³

Not long after Stricker had gotten off his dispatch to Smith, the British had overrun the unfinished entrenchments east of Gorsuch's farm toward North Point (see Map). Realizing that the British were advancing much faster than he had expected, Stricker, at 9:00 a. m. ordered his baggage to the rear and set up a main line of resistance (hereafter, M. L. R.) across the peninsula between Bear Creek and a branch of Back River. At the extreme right of the line, he placed the 5th Maryland with its right flank secured by a branch of Bear Creek and its left resting on the main North Point Road. The 27th Maryland was formed on the other side of North Point Road in line with 5th Maryland with its left extending toward but not as far as a branch of Back River. The artillery was set up across North Point Road between the 5th and 27th. About 300 yards to the rear of the 27th, the 39th Maryland was deployed, and parallel to it on the other side of the road the 51st Maryland was posted the same distance behind the 5th. Half a mile to the rear of the second line (39th and 51st), at Cooks Tavern, the 6th Maryland was held in reserve. The Rifle Battalion was ordered forward into the wooded area between Stricker's M. L. R. and the approaching British army with instructions to slow up the British advance. Before the riflemen actually made contact with the enemy, a rumor circulated among them that the British had already made a landing in their rear at Back

⁹² Stricker to Smith, Sept. 15, 1814, S. S.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1814.

River. Captain W. B. Dyer, who commanded the riflemen, ordered them to fall back on the main line and the British continued their march through the defensible, heavily wooded area without meeting resistance.⁹⁴

When General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, who were with the advance party, reached the Gorsuch Farm (see Map) they ordered a halt. For an hour, Ross and Cockburn rested and messed there. During this time, Ross interrogated some American prisoners concerning the strength of General Smith's forces and defenses. According to a British officer who was a witness to this discussion, the Americans gave an accurate account of the number of men under Smith's command, but they said little or nothing about Stricker's 3rd Brigade which was only a short distance away near the head of Bear Creek.⁹⁵ Apparently Ross assumed from this that only parties of skirmishers stood between his army and the land defenses of Baltimore. This would explain why he moved forward on North Point Road toward Stricker's position without taking any precautions against running into a sizable force.

In the meantime, cavalry videttes had brought back word to Stricker that Ross and a small advance party were taking their leisure at Gorsuch's house. This obvious contempt of the British toward any possible American attack on so small a group, together with the unauthorized withdrawal of the Rifle Battalion from its forward position enraged General Stricker. He called for volunteers to form a detachment to move forward to the Gorsuch house and wipe out the British advance party.⁹⁶ This volunteer group was under the command of Major Heath, 5th Maryland and included 150 men from Howard's and Levering's Companies of the 5th, about 70 riflemen under Captain Aisquith, one four-pounder under Lieutenant Stiles, and an undetermined number of cavalry.⁹⁷ The detachment pressed forward and soon made contact with the British advance party which had left Gorsuch's not long after noon.

Fighting from behind trees and yielding ground stubbornly, the Americans were driven back by the advance party. General Ross was some yards in back of the advance party when the firing broke out. As it swelled in volume, Ross, becoming concerned,

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Gleig, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

⁹⁶ Stricker to Smith, Sept. 15, 1814, S. S.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

rode forward. Finding a larger force of Americans than he had expected, the General turned around and started back to order up additional light infantry. Before he had gone far, an unknown American rifleman shot him through the right arm, the bullet lodging in his chest.⁹⁸ Ross died while he was being carried back to the beach, and there is no doubt that his death had an extremely adverse effect on the morale of the army. Even more important, perhaps, was the fact that the man who succeeded him in command was not qualified to lead an operation of this type.

Colonel Brooke, the commanding officer of the 44th Regiment, was next in line for command of the British forces. Although he had proved his courage in previous battles, he had not had the opportunity to exercise the top command in any engagement. Lieutenant G. R. Gleig who served under both men in the Battle of Baltimore referred to Brooke as "an officer of decided personal courage, but, perhaps, better calculated to lead a battalion, than to guide an army. . . ." ⁹⁹

As soon as Colonel Brooke assumed command, the British continued their forward advance and the detachment under Major Heath returned to their respective units in Stricker's main line. At 2:30 p. m. the British advance units came within view of the 3rd Brigade in its position near Bear Creek.¹⁰⁰ Brooke ordered the Royal Marine artillery unit which operated the Congreve rocket battery to throw rockets across Stricker's left flank.

Stricker's defense line at the beginning of this battle of North Point was somewhat changed from the formation set up at 9:00 a. m. that morning. He had placed the Rifle Battalion at the end of the right flank in such a way that that flank now extended to the edge of Bear Creek. Originally he had intended that the 5th and 27th should receive the initial onslaught of the enemy and, if necessary, fall back through the 51st and 39th, and form on the right of the 6th which was the reserve.¹⁰¹ However, a large land gap existed between the left of his line (27th) and the bank of Back River. This gap was several hundred yards in width and ideally suited to a flanking attack of the type that the British liked to execute.

⁹⁸ Gleig, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123; James, *op. cit.*, II, 314; Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Stricker to Smith, Sept. 15, 1814, S. S.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

When the British opened the battle, they immediately perceived the opportunity for such a movement around this exposed left wing of the American line. In order to prepare the way, the British directed the fire of their cannon on the American artillery in the center of the line and on the 27th which held the left flank. To counter the attack, Stricker moved the 39th into line on the left of the 27th and ordered the 51st to form at right angles with the main lines. The right angled formation of the 51st required a rather complicated wheeling movement of the regiment. This movement would have been difficult to accomplish for a well-trained regular army unit on a parade ground, but for the raw militia of the 51st, who were even then undergoing their first artillery barrage, it was impossible. Colonel Amey of the 51st did not understand the purpose of the movement and by the time it was explained to him, his men were milling around in utter confusion and terror.¹⁰²

The British were quick to take advantage of the opening offered them. The light brigade under Major Jones consisting of the 85th Light Infantry and the light companies of the other regiments, spread out in extended order along the whole front of the American line. The 4th Regiment commanded by Major Faunce moved off to the right of the British position and moved through a wooded area to turn the American left flank. A brigade under Lieutenant Colonel Mullins made up of the 44th Regiment, a detachment of seamen, and the marines of the fleet, formed a line in the rear of the light brigade also parallel to the American line. A third brigade under Colonel Patterson including the 21st Regiment, the 2nd Battalion of Marines and a special detachment of marines under Major Lewis, remained in column some distance back on the road. They were given orders to deploy to the left and press the American right.¹⁰³

At 2:50 p.m., fifteen minutes after the first arrival of the British in front of Stricker's position, the signal was given for the battle plan outlined above to be put into effect. Just as at Bladensburg the British movements were swift and well coordinated. The entire British line advanced firing a volley as it went. The whole American line answered with a volley of its own, but

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

after this first volley, the 51st fled from the field. Part of the 2nd battalion of the 39th, which adjoined the 51st at the right angle of the line, was carried along in this flight.¹⁰⁴

The British 85th Infantry and the other light companies were quick to exploit the collapse of the American left wing, and they were joined by the British 4th Regiment which had completed its flanking movement. The rest of the American line stood firm, however, and delivered a steady fire on the British units attacking their center and right.¹⁰⁵ The British 21st Regiment had little success in its attack on the American right flank held by the 5th Maryland and the British 44th also suffered heavily when they advanced against the artillery and the 27th in the center of the line.¹⁰⁶

At 3:45 p. m., approximately an hour after the British launched their attack, General Stricker gave the order to withdraw to the reserve position held by the 6th Maryland. There were only 1400 men remaining in his M. L. R., and he was in imminent danger of getting cut off by the British flanking movement on his left. Contemporary accounts vary considerably concerning the nature of that withdrawal. The British described it: ". . . enemy . . . obliged to fly in every direction. . . ." ¹⁰⁷

They lost in a moment all order, and fled as every man best could, from the field. Whilst the infantry, dashing into the forest, thought to conceal themselves among its mazes, the cavalry, of which a few squadrons had been drawn upon their right, scampered off by the main road; and was immediately followed by guns, tumbrils, ammunition waggons, and the whole *materiel* of the army.¹⁰⁸

. . . [the Americans] gave way in every direction, and [were] chased by us a considerable distance with great slaughter, abandoning his post of the Meeting-house, situated in this wood, and leaving all his wounded, and two of his field guns in our possession.¹⁰⁹

On the American side, there are not too many official eyewitness accounts. Stricker's is the most specific: ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Stricker to Smith, Sept. 15, 1814, S. S.

¹⁰⁵ James, *op. cit.*, II, 319.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

¹⁰⁸ Gleig, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹⁰⁹ Admiral Cockburn to Admiral Cochrane, Sept. 15, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507.

¹¹⁰ Stricker to Smith, Sept. 15, 1814, S. S.

. . . I was constrained to order a movement back to the reserve regiment, under Colonel M'Donald, which was well posted to receive the retired line, which mostly rallied well. On forming the 6th, the fatigued state of the regiments and corps which had retired and the probability that my right flank might be turned by a quick movement of the enemy in that direction, induced me after proper deliberation to fall back to Worthington's mill.

Evidently, it would appear that Stricker's withdrawal was something less than deliberate. Probably the British accounts of the flight of the militia are accurate. However, there are other factors concerning the Battle of North Point and its outcome that need to be considered.

First of all, the strength, training, and experience of the rival forces were not at all equal. Official reports and eyewitness accounts of men involved on both sides differ greatly. Lieutenant Gleig estimated the American force to be about six or seven thousand men.¹¹¹ Colonel Brooke, the British Commanding officer, gave the strength of Stricker's force as six thousand.¹¹² Admiral Cockburn commanding the naval detachment at North Point gave the Americans six or seven thousand men.¹¹³

In his official report, General Stricker included a specific enumeration of the forces under his command, itemizing it by units and giving a total figure of 3185 effective men.¹¹⁴ When the 3rd Maryland Division personnel records for the period just before the battle are checked, we find that Stricker's figure is quite accurate.¹¹⁵

None of the official British reports gives a total figure for the number of men involved in their side of the operation. William James, a contemporary English military and naval historian stated that the British force numbered 3270 men.¹¹⁶ General Sam Smith, the supreme commander of the American forces defending Baltimore, gave the British between seven and eight thousand men in his official report.¹¹⁷ Sir Edward Codrington who held the post

¹¹¹ Gleig, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹¹² Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

¹¹³ Admiral Cockburn to Admiral Cochrane, Sept. 15, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507.

¹¹⁴ Stricker to Smith, Sept. 15, 1814, S. S.

¹¹⁵ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 9, 1814, *ibid.*; also, Third Division, Maryland Militia Orderly Book, Aug. 8, to Nov. 11, 1814.

¹¹⁶ James, *op. cit.*, II, 318.

¹¹⁷ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 19, 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Sept. 24. 1814), 26-27.

of Captain of the Fleet (somewhat similar in duties to chief administrative officer) with Cochrane's Expedition, stated that in August 1814 when the British arrived in the Chesapeake, they were able to muster a land force of 3340 men. This included infantry, artillery, marine battalions and colonial troops.¹¹⁸ When the British landed at North Point, they added to the land force listed above a brigade of seamen numbering 600 men and a detachment of marines drawn from the various ships (probably not more than 250).¹¹⁹ This would give the British a force of about 4200 men at North Point. If, however, we deduct from this figure the 249 casualties sustained by the British at the Battle of Bladensburg, we come up with a final total of 3951.¹²⁰

From the figures obtained above, it is possible to estimate that about 4000 British faced 3185 Americans at the beginning of the battle at North Point. During the battle all of the British troops were brought into action. If we subtract from the American total of 3185, the 925 men of the 51st Maryland and the 2nd Battalion of the 39th who fled at the first volley, as well as the 620 men of the 6th who were in reserve and did not see any action, we find that 1545 Maryland militiamen, not entrenched, held off about 4000 seasoned British regulars for a period of an hour of continuous combat. In this action, the Americans sustained casualties of 24 killed and 139 wounded,¹²¹ while the British lost 46 killed and 295 wounded.¹²²

When the outnumbered American defenders were finally "routed" by British bayonets, they moved only a mile and a half to the reserve position of the 6th Maryland where they regrouped and awaited a further attack.¹²³ The British did not

¹¹⁸ Lady Jane Bouchier, *Memoir of the Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, with Selections from his Public and Private Correspondence* (London, 1873), p. 312.

¹¹⁹ Cockburn to Cochrane, Sept. 15, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507.

¹²⁰ Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the troops under the command of Major General Ross, in action with the enemy on the 24th of Aug. 1814, on the heights above Bladensburg, Public Record Office, War Office 1. See also Col. Brooke's return of strength of his force as of Sept. 17, 1814, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

¹²¹ Brigade Major Frailey's return of "killed and wounded of the 3rd Brigade M. M. at the late engagement at Long Log Lane [North Point] Sept. 12, 1814," *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Dec. 3, 1814), 201.

¹²² Return of the killed and wounded, in action with the enemy, near Baltimore, on the 12th of Sept., 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1; also, a return of killed and wounded belonging to the navy, disembarked with the army under Major General Ross, Sept. 12, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507.

¹²³ Stricker to Smith, Sept. 15, 1814, S. S.

take up the pursuit but remained on the battlefield. The official reason given for not following up their costly victory was that "the day [was] now far advanced," but actually it was only a few minutes after 4:00 p.m. on a late summer day.¹²⁴ The additional excuse was advanced that "the troops were much fatigued,"¹²⁵ although it must have occurred to the British commander that the beaten Americans were even more fatigued after having "sprinted" a mile and a half with their weapons and other equipment.

Colonel Brooke, who was understandably cautious in his first independent command, was undoubtedly strengthened in his decision to defer further advance until the next day by a communication that he received from Admiral Cochrane. He was informed that the frigates and bomb ships of the fleet would, on the next morning, take stations as previously agreed upon.¹²⁶ After supplementing its usual army fare with such fowl and vegetables as could be gathered from the neighboring farms, the British army built campfires and settled itself for a much needed night's rest.¹²⁷ In the meantime, General Stricker fearing a possible surprise attack by the British withdrew for the night to Worthington's Mill which was four and one half miles nearer to Baltimore.¹²⁸

4

SEPTEMBER 13

Shortly after midnight on the morning of Tuesday, September 13, the weather intervened in the Battle of Baltimore. From that time until daybreak, there was a heavy downpour of rain which did much to dampen the enthusiasm of the British Army for the day's action.¹²⁹ With the exception of the outposts and the men doing guard duty, most of the Americans were able to take cover.

At daybreak on September 13, the British fleet and army commenced the joint operations which they hoped would bring about the capture of Baltimore. Between 5:30 a.m. and 6:00 a.m., Brooke's army set out in columns with well-organized flanking parties to prevent surprise. Their progress along North Point Road and then Philadelphia Road was slow because the Americans

¹²⁴ Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Gleig, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-140.

¹²⁸ Stricker to Smith, Sept. 15, 1814, S. S.

¹²⁹ Gleig, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

had been busy during the night chopping down trees as obstacles across the roads.¹³⁰ By 10:00 a. m., Brooke had set up a command post on the Philadelphia Road a short distance from its intersection with North Point Road (see Map). From there he proceeded to reconnoitre, "at my leisure," the defenses of the town.¹³¹

At about the same time that Brooke's army was starting its march toward Baltimore, the bomb ships *Terror* (10 guns), *Meteor* (18), *Aetna* (8), *Devastation* (8), *Volcano* (16), and the rocket ship *Erebus*, at a range of about two miles, opened fire on Fort McHenry.¹³² During the previous night, ten frigates and sloops had come up the Patapsco and taken a position about two and one half miles below the Fort. As the frigates came up the River, three of them ran aground on sand bars and had to be hauled off by main strength by their crews.¹³³ One of the frigates, the *Surprise*, served as flagship for Admiral Cochrane who had taken personal command of the bombardment. After the capture of Washington, Admiral Cochrane had not been in favor of an attack on Baltimore at this time but had been persuaded to approve the operation by Admiral Cockburn and General Ross.¹³⁴ Now, on the morning of September 13, both Cochrane and his Captain of the Fleet, Admiral Codrington were pessimistic concerning their chances of reducing Fort McHenry and its outer works. Sometime during the first few hours of the bombardment, Codrington jotted down in his diary, the following estimate of the situation: ¹³⁵

Last night we received the distressing tidings of General Ross being killed by a rifle-shot whilst reconnoitring the position of the enemy. The ball went through his arm into his body, and he died on his way towards the place of embarkation. He is a most severe loss to his country and to us at this most important juncture; and to his wife, with whom after long experience, he lived in the sincerest affection, the loss of all her earthly bliss! I pointed out to him [Ross] all the difficulties I saw in this attack, into which he was persuaded by [Admiral] Cockburn and a Mr. Evans, who acts as quartermaster general in this army, and that the probability of which was gathered merely from the American papers. What the army may find the land-side I know not; but on this side the enemy is so

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

¹³¹ Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

¹³² James, *op. cit.*, II, 322.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³³ Bouchier, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-320.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

well prepared for defense by nature and art, that we can do little either towards capturing or destroying the town. I told the General that in reality we had no information, for I could never consider the mere hearsay of people not responsible, as worthy of reliance; and we now find this a very different place from what that hearsay led us to believe. What I said and proposed was mere furtherance of the plan of the Admiral, which was built on the best foundation; and I was surprised that so sensible a man as General Ross should be led away by the opposite opinions. I have, however, belied my internal qualms by avowing a confidence in our success since the decision was made, and the hopes I had have now yielded to fears. Heroism will do wonders certainly, and there is that still to look to; but I believe there is too much on hand even for that, and I wish the job were well over.

However pessimistic the British leaders may have been in respect to the final outcome of the naval attack, they enjoyed an important initial advantage in their gun duel with Fort McHenry. The British bomb ships were equipped with a number of thirteen inch mortars which were capable of shelling the Fort from a distance of two miles. This was outside the range of the largest thirty-six pounders in the Fort and made it possible for the British bomb ships to maintain a continuous unopposed fire.¹³⁶

This situation did not come as a surprise to Major Armistead, the Commanding Officer at Fort McHenry. As an experienced regular army artilleryman he knew from frequent target practice sessions at the Fort that the effective range of his guns was not much over a mile and a half.¹³⁷ He was also familiar with the fire power and range of the British bomb vessels inasmuch as they had been active in the Chesapeake area since early in the summer. As early as April 15, 1814, Major Armistead had asked the War Department to send him some ten inch mortars. The Secretary of War had rejected his request on the ground that the French thirty-six pounders had a sufficient range to cover the Patapsco River approach. The Secretary added that General Sam Smith shared his point of view.¹³⁸ Armistead was a persistent man, however, and continued his efforts to obtain mortars. Finally, on August 6, 1814, a little over a month before the Battle of Baltimore, the War Department directed that one ten inch mortar be forwarded

¹³⁶ Armistead to Secretary of War, Sept. 24, 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Oct. 1, 1814), 40.

¹³⁷ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, April 20, 1813.

¹³⁸ Morton to Armistead, April 15, 1814, Office of Chief of Artillery, 1812-1825, N. A., R. G. 156.

from the Greenleaf's Point arsenal at Washington to Fort McHenry.¹³⁹ Armistead received the mortar on August 16, 1814, but wrote back to the War Department complaining that they had failed to send a base or fuzes.¹⁴⁰ A final twist of irony in Armistead's futile struggle to obtain mortars capable of matching the range of British bomb vessels is found in the following item in a return of ordnance seized by the British army at Greenleaf's Point arsenal in Washington: "August 25—three 13 inch mortars."¹⁴¹

According to Major Armistead, the bombardment of Fort McHenry lasted for twenty-five hours (6:00 a. m., September 13 to 7:00 a. m., September 14) with two brief intermissions. Armistead estimated that from fifteen to eighteen hundred shells were thrown at the Fort. Of that number about four hundred fell within the works, but many burst in the air and caused fragmentation casualties. Despite this heavy volume of fire, only four men were killed and twenty-four wounded.¹⁴² There is an explanation for this low casualty rate. Not long after it became apparent that the British bomb ships were out of range of the Fort's guns, the order to cease fire was given and, for the greater part of the battle, all but skeleton crews manning the guns on the bastions took cover in the ditch outside the Star Fort where they were relatively safe from the bombardment.¹⁴³

Although two buildings in the Fort were seriously, and others only slightly, damaged a most spectacular hit occurred at 2:00 p. m. on the 13th when a British shell blasted a twenty-four pounder on the southwest bastion. Lieutenant Claggett, in charge of the gun, was killed and the rest of the crew were wounded. When the British saw the surge of activity on the bastion to remount the gun, two of the bomb ships and the Rocket Ship *Erebus* were ordered closer to the Fort to take advantage of the momentary confusion that existed. For thirty minutes a vigorous

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, Wadsworth to Armistead, Aug. 6, 1814.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Armistead to Wadsworth, Aug. 6, 1814.

¹⁴¹ Return of ordnance, ammunition and ordnance-stores, taken from the enemy by the army under the command of Major General Robert Ross, between the 19th and 25th of Aug. 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1.

¹⁴² Armistead to Secretary of War, Sept. 24, 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Oct. 1, 1814), 40.

¹⁴³ "Reminiscences of the Bombardment of Fort McHenry (the Star Fort) in Sept. 1814," the *Md. Hist. Mag.* (Dec., 1923), 371-373. This narrative is by Col. M. I. Cohen who was a member of Capt. Nicholson's Baltimore Fencibles which served in the star fort during the attack.

cannonade went on between the ships and the guns of the Fort. Then the British withdrew to their former position and resumed their unopposed long range shelling of the Fort.¹⁴⁴

If we accept the opinion of Admiral Codrington as quoted above, it would seem quite possible that by 2:30 p.m. on September 13, the British naval commanders had given up any hope of bringing about the surrender of Fort McHenry through long range shelling. The bombardment had been launched in the first place, with the idea of creating a panic among the defenders of the Fort and causing its evacuation. After eight hours, the British had made their demonstration within range of the Fort's guns and been driven off. It was also quite apparent now that any direct assault in daylight on the Fort or its outer works could not succeed.¹⁴⁵

On the other side of Baltimore, Colonel Brooke had finished his reconnaissance by about noon and the prospect facing him seemed even gloomier than the situation of the naval force. He estimated that the Eastern Defense Line was defended by about 15,000 men and 120 guns. The works were on hills with a wide area of cleared land in front of them which would have to be crossed by an attacking force.¹⁴⁶ To oppose these strong defenses, he had an army which had been reduced to about 3600 men because of the 341 casualties of the day before, and for artillery he had only two light field pieces and a howitzer.¹⁴⁷ Under these circumstances any sort of frontal attack was out of the question.

As has been stated in a previous chapter on the defenses of Baltimore, the left flank of the Eastern Defense Line extended as far as Belair Road (see Map). From that point on, the northern perimeter of the City was virtually undefended. Brooke decided to make a feint at that unfortified area, and about noon he put his army in motion toward Harford and York Roads. The American cavalry detected this movement and Smith ordered Stricker's Brigade and General Winder's command, which included some regular dragoons, to adapt their movements to those of the British. They took up a position just north of the city extending between York Road and Belair Road.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Armistead to Secretary of War, Sept. 24, 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Oct. 1, 1814), 40.

¹⁴⁵ Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

¹⁴⁶ Broke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office 1, Vol. 141.

¹⁴⁷ James, *op. cit.*, II, 318.

¹⁴⁸ Smith to Secretary of War, Sept. 19, 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Sept. 24, 1814), 26-27.

The countermove of Stricker and Winder caused Brooke to give up his attempt to attack the northern perimeter of Baltimore. Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th, the British army was concentrated in front of the Eastern Defense Line at the distance of about one mile. Smith anticipated that Brooke would wait until dark to make any further movement. Stricker and Winder were ordered to take a position just to the left of the end of the entrenchments. Smith intended to have them fall on the right or rear of the British line should a frontal assault be attempted during the night.¹⁴⁹

Shortly after 5:00 p. m., a heavy rain began to fall and continued on into the night making the range of visibility very low. Colonel Brooke had conferred with his officers and decided on a plan of action for a night attack. Lieutenant Gleig was present at the conference and gave the following concise description of the plan:

It had been explained to us, that as soon as a communication could be opened between the army and the fleet, of which all the bombs, and many of the lighter frigates were in the river, an attack upon the American lines would be made. This was to begin with a heavy fire on the right, for the purpose of drawing to that part the principal share of Jonathan's attack; after which the 85th Regiment, and the seamen, supported by the 4th and 44th, were to penetrate the left silently, and with the bayonet. Having overcome all opposition, the column was to wheel up upon the summit of the ridge, to remain stationary until dawn; and then taking the whole of the works in flank, to carry them one by one in detail. But everything, it was understood, must depend on the ability of the fleet to cooperate. There was, upon the extreme right of the American position, a strong post, well supplied with heavy ordnance [Rodgers Bastion] [See map]. To pass it by unheeded, would be, our leaders conceived, to expose the attacking column, even should it succeed in the dark, to certain destruction, as soon as daylight enabled the artillery to play; whilst to attempt it by escalade, was esteemed a project too hazardous. To the fleet it was accordingly left, which, by bombardment, would, it was presumed, reduce it to ruins in a few hours; and the commencement of a serious cannonade from the river, to be the signal for a general movement in line.¹⁵⁰

At some time during the evening, contact was made between Brooke's Army and the fleet.¹⁵¹ Admiral Cochrane expressed the

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Gleig, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

¹⁵¹ Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141; also Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

In these letters both Col. Brooke and Admiral Cochrane state that they were in

view that the fleet would not be able to penetrate the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco because of hulks sunk between Fort McHenry and the Lazaretto.¹⁵² However, there is good reason to believe that other arrangements for joint action were made. We know that Brooke's men remained in assault positions until 1:30 or 2:00 a.m. on September 14th. At or around midnight they expected some sort of signal from the fleet in the river that would mark the beginning of a joint attack.¹⁵³

Just before midnight, the bomb ships increased the intensity of their bombardment of the Fort, which caused Sailing Master Webster who commanded the six gun Babcock Battery on the Ferry Branch, to order his guns double-shotted with eighteen pound balls and grape shot. Earlier in the evening Major Armistead at Fort McHenry had sent the following terse message to General Smith:¹⁵⁴

From the number of barges and the known situation of the enemy I have not a doubt but what an assault will be made this night on the Fort.

5

SEPTEMBER 14

Around midnight of September 13th, a flare bursting high in the air over the British fleet in the Patapsco River announced the final phase of the Battle of Baltimore. This was apparently a signal indicating that a division of boats was about to launch a diversionary attack up the Ferry Branch. Although the main water route to Baltimore was the obstructed Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River, there was also another "back door" water route to the City by way of the Ferry Branch into Ridgely's Cove which led to within a half mile of the southern limits of the City (see Map). Until now (1958) it was commonly believed that a boom had been placed across the entrance of Ridgely's Cove. However, a letter from Sam Smith to the Secretary of War indicates that the boom was not constructed until after the Battle of Baltimore.¹⁵⁵

communication on the night of Sept. 13. It is not known whether they conferred in person, but it is likely that they used messengers.

¹⁵² Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

¹⁵³ Gleig, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

¹⁵⁴ Webster to Brantz Mayer, July 22, 1853, Md. Hist. Soc., Vertical File; Armistead to Smith [Sept. 13, 1814], S. S.

¹⁵⁵ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 19, 1814, Office Secretary of War, Letters Received 1814-1817, N. A., R. G. 107.

The attack up the Ferry Branch was led by Captain Charles Napier of the frigate *Euryalus* and included twenty boats with about 1200 officers, seamen and marines.¹⁵⁶ The elements favored the venture for the night was dark and a heavy rain was falling. If the boats could pass by Fort McHenry and the other forts on the Ferry Branch, keeping close to the southern bank of the river, there was little to prevent them from entering Ridgely's Cove and making their way unopposed into the southern section of Baltimore (see Map).

Unfortunately for Captain Napier, the same weather conditions that protected him from American observation, also brought disaster to his expedition shortly after it left the fleet. As they approached Fort McHenry, eleven of the boats became separated from the rest and pulled into the Northwest Branch instead of the Ferry Branch of the river.¹⁵⁷ These boats were detected approaching the Lazaretto by the flotilla men at the three-gun battery there. In the belief that this was a British attempt to seize the Lazaretto battery word was sent to Commodore Rodgers, who quickly ordered his aide, Mr. Stockton and Major Randall's company of Pennsylvania riflemen to the scene.¹⁵⁸ By this time, however, the officers in charge of the eleven British boats had recognized their danger and ordered a withdrawal to the fleet.¹⁵⁹

In the meantime, Captain Napier and the remaining nine boats continued on their way into the Ferry Branch. According to the contemporary English naval historian, William James, Napier's force now consisted of one rocket boat, five launches (or barges), two pinnaces, one gig and 123 men.¹⁶⁰

The British had passed the Babcock Battery in the rain and darkness and were nearly abreast of Fort Covington when Sailing Master Webster at the Babcock Battery heard the muffled splashing of their oars and noticed "small lights" in several places about two hundred yards off Fort Covington. He opened fire with his battery and Fort Covington did the same.¹⁶¹ Several of the British boats which were armed with cannon returned the fire. One man was wounded among troops in the rear of Fort Covington,

¹⁵⁶ James, *op. cit.*, II, 324.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Rodgers to Jones, Sept. 23, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

¹⁵⁹ James, *op. cit.*, II, 324-325.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Webster to Brantz Mayer, July 22, 1853, Md. Hist. Soc., Vertical File.

otherwise there were no American casualties since most of the British shells and rockets were aimed high and missed the forts entirely.¹⁶²

There is considerable confusion concerning the damage done to the British in this action. Admirals Cochrane and Cockburn did not even mention Napier's attack in their official reports and there is no evidence available concerning Napier's report, if, indeed, he wrote one. Major Armistead stated in his report that one boat with two dead men in it was found after the battle.¹⁶³

Napier retreated back down the river, running a gantlet of fire at Fort McHenry, and returned to the fleet at approximately 2:00 a. m. on September 14th. The failure of this attack represented the end of any British hopes of capturing Baltimore. In order to cover the expected withdrawal of Brooke's army to North Point, the fleet continued the bombardment of Fort McHenry until 7:00 a. m. About 9:00 a. m. the British ships got under way and retired to the mouth of the Patapsco.¹⁶⁴

Colonel Brooke's army had remained in its assault position opposite the Eastern Defense Line throughout the engagement in the Ferry Branch.¹⁶⁵ From midnight until 1:30 a. m. the British troops expected at any moment to be ordered into action according to the plan previously agreed upon.¹⁶⁶ At 1:30 a. m., however, the order was given to withdraw, and the army began the march back to North Point. Available sources of information do not provide any specific explanation as to the manner in which Brooke reached his decision to withdraw. In his report to the War Office, Brooke says the following: ¹⁶⁷

. . . During the evening, however, I received a communication from the commander in chief of the naval forces [Cochrane], by which I was informed, that, in consequence of the entrance to the harbor being closed up by vessels sunk for that purpose by the enemy, a naval cooperation against the town and camp was found impracticable.

Under these circumstances and keeping in view your lordships instructions, it was agreed between the vice-admiral and myself, that the capture

¹⁶² Newcomb [CO at Ft. Covington] to Rodgers, Sept. 14, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

¹⁶³ Armistead to Secretary of War, Sept. 24, 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Oct. 1, 1814), VII, 40.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Gleig, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

of the town would not have been a sufficient equivalent to the loss which might probably be sustained in storming the heights. . . .

The procedure followed by Brooke in his withdrawal seemed designed to draw the Americans out of their defense lines for a battle in the open. He retreated only three miles before taking another position which held until the afternoon of September 14th. At that time, he went three and a half miles further on the road to North Point before making camp for the night. Brooke's report of the withdrawal concludes by stating: "Having ascertained at a later hour on the morning of the 15th, that the enemy had no disposition to quit his entrenchments, I moved down and re-embarked the army at North Point, not leaving a man behind. . . ." ¹⁶⁸

The American version of the withdrawal differs somewhat from the British account given above. In his report, Major General Sam Smith states that, due to the dark night and heavy rain, the Americans in the Eastern Defense Line were not aware until daybreak that the British had retired from their position. Early in the morning, however, Smith sent General Winder's command, including the Virginia militia and Bird's U. S. Dragoons in pursuit of the British army by way of North Point Road. Major Randall's Pennsylvania riflemen and all of the militia cavalry were sent out Trappe Road to attack the British right flank, if possible.¹⁶⁹ Because of the fatigue of the militia who had little sleep for three nights and the fact that the British had a head start of several hours, only the U. S. Dragoons caught up with the British column. According to General Winder's report, the Dragoons skirmished briefly with the British rear guard and took six prisoners before superior numbers forced them to withdraw.¹⁷⁰

Early in the morning of September 17, the British fleet finally set sail down the Bay and by 2:00 p.m. all of their ships had passed Swan Point near the mouth of the Patapsco.¹⁷¹ By that time the British commanders were in the process of preparing their final reports on the Battle of Baltimore. They were hard pressed to give a good appearance to the affair.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Smith to Secretary of War, Sept. 19, 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Sept. 24, 1814), 26-27.

¹⁷⁰ Division Orders of General Winder, Sept. 15, 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Sept. 24, 1814), 28.

¹⁷¹ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 17, 1814, S. S.

Admiral Cockburn, who commanded the sailors and marines attached to the British army, in his usual terse, concise style, did not pretend that the operation was a success, but contented himself with praising the courage of units and individuals under his command. In order to explain the heavy British casualty rate in the battle at North Point, which he had described as an unqualified victory, Cockburn took liberties with the truth: "An advance of this description, against superior numbers of an enemy so posted, could not be effected without loss. . . ." ¹⁷² As has been previously stated the British outnumbered the Americans at North Point by at least 900 men.

Colonel Brooke strained in his detailed report to Lord Bathurst of the War Office to explain why the Battle of Baltimore was a victory. He stated that he had "compelled" the enemy to sink upwards of twenty vessels in different parts of the harbor; "caused" the citizens to remove almost the whole of their property to places of more security inland; "obliged" the government to concentrate all the military force of the surrounding states; "harrassed" the militia, and "forced" them to collect from any remote districts; causing the enemy to burn a valuable rope walk, with other public buildings, in order to clear the glacis in front of their redoubts, besides having beaten them and routed them in a general action. ¹⁷³

It is difficult to see how the War Office could have overlooked the simple fact that all of these inconveniences suffered by the Americans were designed to prevent the capture and destruction of Baltimore by the British. Mentioning them in his report only tended to emphasize the fact that he had not succeeded in that purpose.

Admiral Cochrane's report as Commander of the expedition was essentially a summary of the facts set forth by Cockburn and Brooke. He described the Battle of Baltimore as a ". . . demonstration upon the City of Baltimore which might be converted into a real attack should circumstances appear to justify it. . ." ¹⁷⁴

More honest and perhaps typical of the real feelings of the

¹⁷² Cockburn to Cochrane, Sept. 15, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Vol. 507.

¹⁷³ Brooke to Bathurst, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, War Office 1, Vol. 141.

¹⁷⁴ Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17, 1814, Public Record Office, Admiralty 1, Part 3.

British soldiers and sailors in the expedition was the hurriedly written remark of Lieutenant Pascoe of HMS *Melpomene*, one of the ships used in the Battle of Baltimore; in a letter addressed to a friend in London from "Chesapeak, September 16, 1814" he stated: "... We were very sanguine in our expectations before the attack on Baltimore which unfortunately fail'd with an irreparable [*sic*] loss on our side (Gen: Ross) . . ." ¹⁷⁵

On the American side, the first emotion felt by all persons concerned was one of great and overpowering relief. Before the battle, almost everyone had believed that the British would take Baltimore just as they had Washington. However, there was determination to fight to the last ditch. During the hours just before the attack, the military engineer in charge of the defenses had given directions for the use of the newly completed Cathedral as a fortification inside the city, and had ordered the collection of materials to barricade the avenues.¹⁷⁶ The defense at the Fort indicated stubbornness and courage.

From the morning of September 14, when the British withdrew their fleet to the mouth of the Patapsco River, until September 17, when the last British ship departed down the Bay, everyone from Sam Smith on down feared another attack. So strong was this apprehension, that on the night of the 14th, General Smith ordered several units in the Eastern Defense Line to march through Baltimore to a hill in the rear of Fort Covington. This movement was designed to strengthen the Ferry Branch defenses in case the British tried again to reach the City by this route. These troops, which included the 3rd Maryland and the Frederick Volunteers, were passing through Baltimore Street when, in the darkness, a runaway team of horses approached them. Under the mistaken impression that they were being attacked by British cavalry, the 3rd broke and fled in disorder through the City discarding weapons and knapsacks as they went.¹⁷⁷

When it was definitely known that the British expedition had gone down the Bay and Baltimore was no longer in imminent danger of attack, the mood of the defenders underwent a notice-

¹⁷⁵ Letter from Lieutenant Pascoe, H. M. S. *Melpomene*, to Charles Cox, Sept. 16, 1814 (a part of the private collection of Mr. James Clements Wheat of Bay City, Michigan).

¹⁷⁶ Capt. Babcock to Smith, Sept. 6, 1814, S. S.

¹⁷⁷ Diary of M. E. Bartgis, Sept. 14, 1814, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore.

able change. Many people criticized General Winder and his command for not making a more vigorous pursuit of the retreating British army.¹⁷⁸ Although the British expedition still remained within striking distance of Baltimore, General Smith's forces began to melt away. By September 19, only two days after the British expedition started down the Bay, 800 Virginia militia whose terms of enlistment were up insisted on returning home.¹⁷⁹ 1200 Pennsylvania militia and almost as many Maryland militia had already left for home.¹⁸⁰ On the same day, Commodore Rodgers and all but a small detachment of his seamen received orders from the Secretary of the Navy to proceed to Philadelphia.¹⁸¹ Desertions and sickness also thinned the ranks of the troops that remained, and within a week after the battle, there were not enough troops left to man all of the fortifications in the Ferry Branch and in the Eastern Defense Line.¹⁸²

Fortunately for Baltimore, the British leaders were not aware of the City's weakness. On September 19, Admiral Cochrane with the *Tonnant* and the *Surprise* sailed for Halifax to superintend the construction of flat bottomed boats for the forthcoming attack on New Orleans. Admiral Cockburn, on the same day, left for Bermuda with most of the larger ships in the Chesapeake squadron. Admiral Malcolm remained in the Patuxent with the frigates, bomb ships, and Brooke's troops until October 14 when he departed for Jamaica.¹⁸³ By the middle of October, the once powerful British Chesapeake Expedition had dwindled to HMS *Dragon*, 74, the *Hebrus* and *Havannah* frigates and four smaller supporting craft, together with a detachment of 200 colonial marines (formerly refugee slaves).¹⁸⁴ This small force under the command of Captain Barrie was based on Tangier Island near the mouth of the Potomac and no longer constituted a threat to the port of Baltimore. The Battle of Baltimore was now a subject for the historians.

¹⁷⁸ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 22, 1814.

¹⁷⁹ Smith to Monroe, Sept. 19, 1814, S. S.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ William Jones to Rodgers, Sept. 19, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

¹⁸² Gen. Forman to Mrs. Forman, Sept. 20, 1814, Forman Papers.

¹⁸³ James, *op. cit.*, II, 331.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 332.

SIDELIGHTS

LOT NUMBER 71, ANNAPOLIS, A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH

By RUBY R. DUVAL

A little less than an acre in old Annapolis, a section bordering on Church Circle and extending west between West and Northwest Streets, is of paramount interest. Many rumors and considerable conjecture have prevailed about early owners and residents in this area. The challenge to investigate it is thus rewarding.

In the heart of Annapolis the lot, identified as No. 71 in an early survey, has an intriguing background that ties in with a galaxy of residents many of whom were closely allied with the history of not only Annapolis but also the colony and later the State of Maryland. There were Colonel Francis Nicholson, a Provincial Governor; John Slaughter, townsman; George Valentine, gentleman; Samuel Stringer, surgeon; Jonathan Pinkney, Senior, father of the distinguished William Pinkney; John Ball, innholder; William Whetcroft, silversmith; Allen Quynn, cordwainer; William Brewer, Senior; Thomas Harris; John Johnson, eminent jurist, last Chancellor of Maryland; Mary Tyler Johnson, widow of the Chancellor; Henrietta Harwood Johnson, and her son James Iglehart Johnson. Also, there were Richard B. Watts, owner of a blacksmith's shop "contiguous to Church Circle"; Joseph Bellis who purchased the commodious red brick Johnson residence in 1857, and, with a few changes, operated it as the "National Hotel"; as well as the Gassaways who acquired the brick house which is now an office building owned in part by Congressman Richard E. Lankford of Annapolis.

Richard Beard made a map of Annapolis in 1695, but, unfortunately, it was destroyed by fire in 1704. A few years later James Stoddert was commissioned by the General Assembly of Maryland to make a plat of the City of Annapolis—and this map, dated July 25, 1718, is preserved in the Land Office.

According to Stoddert's plat, the lot lying between Northwest Street and West Street and bordering on Church Circle is identified as No. 71. The surveyor's original notes, which may be seen in the Land Office in Annapolis, state that this lot was in the possession of John Slaughter and that it contained 42,260 square feet, more or less.¹

A deed book in the Hall of Records indicates that on April 8, 1710 George Valentine purchased from John Slaughter a lot, later identified as a portion of No. 71. This is described as nearest the Church and extending

¹ Slaughter *or* Slater—the spelling differs in the old records. See Stoddert Map, July 25, 1718, and his original notes in Land Office, Annapolis.

50 feet on Northwest Street and 50 feet on West Street.² In his will, September 10, 1718, Valentine devised this property as follows: "All right and title that I have to the house built by me on land said to have belonged to Colonel Francis Nicholson former Governor of this Province" to Elinor Clinton. He further directed that Elinor Clinton sell his estate which included other holdings.³

On October 14, 1718, in settling the estate of George Valentine, Elinor Clinton sold the house and lot nearest the Church to Charles Cole.⁴

By late August 1739, Samuel Stringer, physician of Annapolis, had acquired Lot 71 in its entirety from the various persons who were in possession of parts thereof. Anne Arundel County records reveal that on April 16, 1728, Anne Street, spinster, sold to Samuel Stringer, surgeon, her interest in the lot "together with all and singular the houses, improvements, etc." for £35.⁵ On February 7, 1735, Robert Jones, planter of Prince George County, sold, for £12, to Samuel Stringer of Annapolis "all that part or piece of Lot No. 71 lying between Northwest Street and West Street and bounded on one end toward the Church Circle by a small part of said lot formerly conveyed by John Slater to a certain George Valentine, and now belonging to John Smith, carpenter of this city, and on the other end by the remaining part *already* in the possession of the said Samuel Stringer, together with two little houses or tenements";⁶ and on August 18, 1739, John Ramsay, merchant, and wife, for £12, sold to Samuel Stringer, Physician, "all the rights of Ramsay and his wife to that part of Lot No. 71 next adjoining Church Circle between Northwest and West Streets, devised by George Valentine to Elinor Clinton—afterwards Eleanor Carr the wife of Peter Carr—together with the improvements thereon."⁷

Whether the sums indicated in these transactions which total £59 reveal the real cost to Samuel Stringer or whether they were mere considerations is not known but thirty-one years later when Stringer sold Lot No. 71 to Jonathan Pinkney for £660 the vast difference in price suggests that Samuel Stringer may have erected one or more dwelling houses which later transactions disclose.

On January 29, 1770, Samuel Stringer, physician, living in Albany, New York, appointed William Coale of Anne Arundel County, attorney, to sell Lot No. 71 to Jonathan Pinkney "now in possession of the property";⁸ and on April 6, 1770, the final sale was made for £660 current money of Maryland for the lot and messuage or tenement with the appurtenances.⁹

By 1775, Jonathan Pinkney found himself involved in debt and on

² Anne Arundel County Deeds, Liber P. K. 1708-1712, f. 478, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

³ Anne Arundel County Wills, Liber W. B. No. 6, 1714-1718, f. 716. (H. of R.)

⁴ A. A. Co. Deeds, Liber I. B. No. 2, 1712-1718, f. 511. (H. of R.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, Liber S. Y. No. 1, 1724-1728, f. 427. (H. of R.)

⁶ *Ibid.*, Liber R. D. No. 2, 1733-1737, f. 370. (H. of R.)

⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber R. D. No. 3, 1737-1739, f. 227. (H. of R.)

⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber D. D. No. 4, 1765-1770, f. 680, Land Office.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Liber D. D. No. 4, 1765-1779, f. 682, Land Office; also Annapolis Mayor's Court Proceedings, Liber B, f. 323. (H. of R.)

September 8, 1775 he agreed to have Thomas Harwood, Jr. and John Bullen sell his property, Lot No. 71 in Annapolis and all tracts on the north side of the Severn River, together with buildings and improvements, to discharge his obligations to William Roberts and cover charges for cost of suit and claim.¹⁰

The *Maryland Gazette* of early September, 1775, carried an advertisement of the impending sale of the Pinkney property on September 30, 1775—in part “A lot of land lying in the City of Annapolis distinguished by the Number 71, on which are a brick dwelling house and other improvements, lately in the occupation of Mr. John Ball, innholder.” The sale was put off for a time. However, at the public sale on February 19, 1776, William Whetcroft, silversmith, was the highest bidder, and Lot No. 71 with all buildings and appurtenances was conveyed to him for £440.¹¹

Allen Quynn, cordwainer (shoemaker), became the next owner of Lot No. 71. On August 12, 1778, Quynn purchased the lot “with dwelling house or tenement—all and singular improvements” from William Whetcroft for £1,500.¹² The increase in selling price from £440 to £1,500 reflects the general rise in prices characteristic of the Revolutionary period because of the over abundance of state and continental currency.

Eighteen years earlier, July 21, 1760, Quynn had purchased the adjoining Lot No. 70, with dwelling house, from Charles Carroll and that house continued to be his place of residence.¹³ When he died in 1803 his will, probated in November 1803, provided for the division of his property which included Lot No. 71 with dwellings and improvements.¹⁴ However, by a decree of the Court of Chancery, February 18, 1805, Quynn's property was offered at public sale. According to an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* of Wednesday, January 4, 1809, the following items are of interest: “. . . A large and commodious two-story brick home in which Captain John Kilty now resides. . . . A large three-story brick house, in the possession of Captain John Gassaway. . . . A frame house in which Mr. Thomas Wilmer resides. Also a lot or parcel of ground adjoining the city, formerly called Swan's Tanyard.”

This sale was set for January 7, 1809, and John Johnson was named as trustee. While John Kilty, John Gassaway, and Thomas Wilmer indicated that they wanted to purchase the properties where they resided, they failed to make the payments required, and the estate remained in Chancery Court for a number of years.

A portion of the Quynn Lot No. 71 was sold to Richard B. Watts by John Johnson, Trustee, on September 2, 1812, for \$225. This was duly ratified and the purchase is described as “contiguous to Church Circle and lying between Northwest and West Streets . . . on which a blacksmith shop was erected.”¹⁵ But the remaining portion of the lot remained in

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Liber I. B. No. 5, 1774-1778, f. 248. (H of R.)

¹¹ Annapolis Mayor's Court Proceedings, Liber B, 1721-1784, f. 405. (H. of R.)

¹² A. A. County Deeds, Liber N. H. No. 1, 1778-1784, deed 11. (H. of R.)

¹³ *Ibid.*, Liber B. B. No. 2, 1757-1763, f. 364. (H. of R.)

¹⁴ A. A. Co. Wills, Liber J. G. No. 2, 1797-1813, f. 257. (H. of R.)

¹⁵ A. A. Co. Deeds, Liber W. S. G. No. 1, 1811-1812, deed 585. (H. of R.)

litigation and was administered under the Chancery Court directives until April 6, 1821 when William Brewer of Annapolis became the purchaser. According to the description of this transaction, the tract with dwellings and appurtenances contained approximately 28,880 square feet.¹⁶ On the following day, April 7, 1821, William Brewer sold the larger portion of his purchase, approximately 17,420 square feet, with dwelling and appurtenances to Thomas Harris of Prince George's County for \$1,200.¹⁷

Ten years later, September 7, 1831, the heirs of Thomas Harris sold his property to the Honorable John Johnson, Jr., the last Chancellor of Maryland, for \$3,000.¹⁸ The same year John Johnson purchased the lot and dwelling on State Circle—the residence of his father, the late John Johnson, Sr. (1770-1824), who also had served as Chancellor of this State. The State Circle property, identified on Stoddert's Map of Annapolis as Lot No. 73, was occupied by his mother, Deborah Ghiselin Johnson, and his younger brother George, then a minor.¹⁹ His elder brother, Reverdy Johnson, born in 1796, resided in Baltimore.

After remodeling the brick residence facing West Street on a part of Lot No. 71, John Johnson, Jr. and his wife, Mary Tyler Johnson, took up residence there. Their home is described as "a commodious brick house with fourteen rooms, cellar, and a detached brick office." There was a deep front yard and a garden in the rear which extended through to Northwest Street where a quaint small frame house with gambrel roof occupied a section of the lot.

A lawyer by profession, this distinguished last Chancellor of Maryland was born August 5, 1798, the second son of John and Deborah Ghiselin Johnson and a grandson of Robert and Ann Johnson from whom his father had inherited the State Circle property mentioned as a part of Lot No. 73. It is rather ironical that the West Street residence, which he and his wife and children called "home" for a number of years, is still standing—not preserved as many fine old Annapolis homes have been preserved—but hidden from view by business structures, Nos. 20 and 22, of recent years erected in the front yard of the one-time desirable domicile.

This old home of Chancellor Johnson's possibly may be the long-sought-for birthplace of William Pinkney, Maryland's eminent lawyer who became Attorney-General of the United States in 1812. According to the Land Office Records, Jonathan Pinkney rented or leased this property prior to his purchase of it, in 1770, and it is very probable that he was residing here when his son William was born, March 17, 1764. Other houses in Annapolis offered as the possible birthplace are of a much later date of construction.

Chancellor Johnson, because of ill health, had taken residence in Baltimore to be in close proximity to his physicians a short time before his death on October 4, 1856.²⁰ His widow and minor children continued to

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Liber W. S. G. No. 7, f. 585. (H. of R.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber W. S. G. No. 7, f. 602-604. (H. of R.)

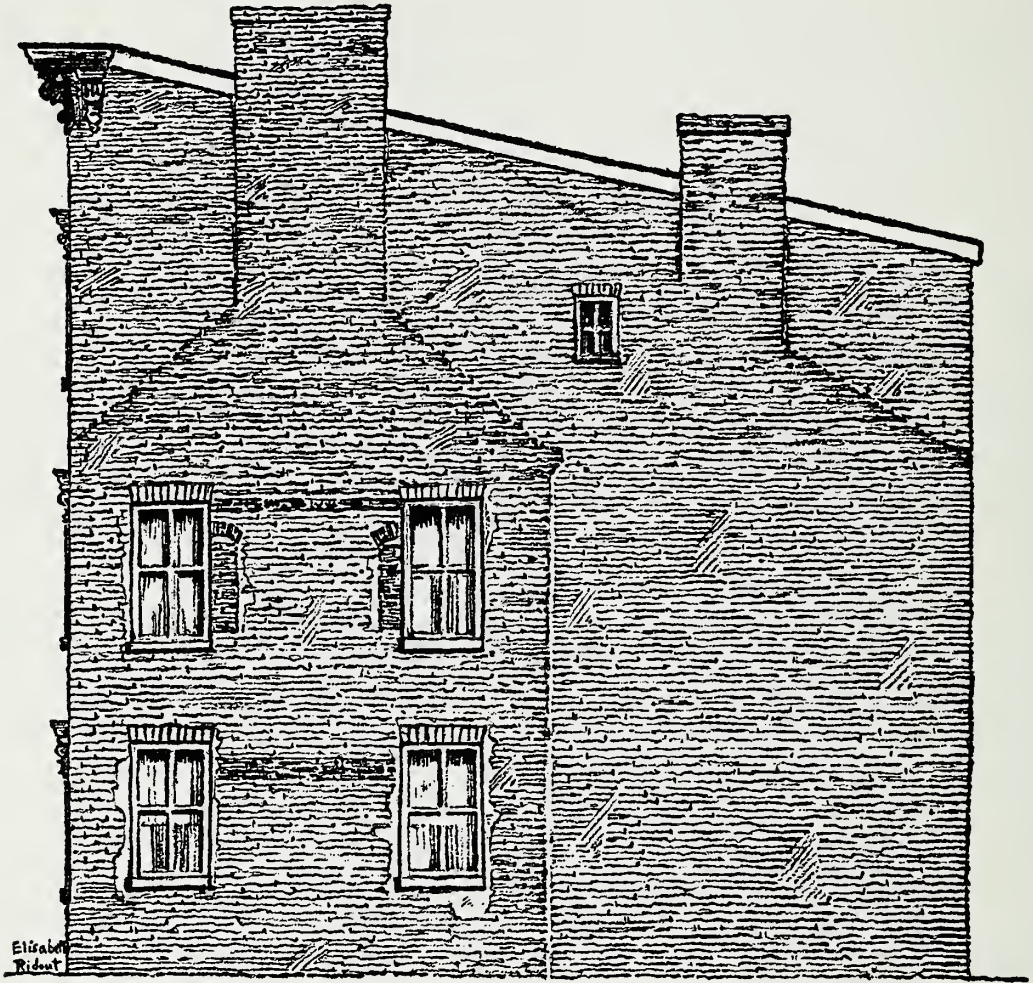
¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber W. S. G. No. 16, 1831-1832, deed 509. (H. of R.)

¹⁹ Land Office, Annapolis, Chancery Records, No. 125 (1824), f. 424-438; also A. A. Co. Deeds, Liber W. S. G. No. 16, 1831-1832, deed 516. (H. of R.)

²⁰ Obituary notices in *Baltimore Sun*, Oct. 6, 7, 8, 1856; also obituary notices in *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, Oct. 6, 7, 8, 1856.

maintain residence there, while Laura, the elder daughter, had married Lieutenant John Van Ness Philip, U. S. Navy, and was occupying the West Street, Annapolis, homeplace.

George Johnson, Esq., younger brother of the Chancellor, had married Henrietta E. Harwood and was occupying the late Chancellor's property on State Circle where their mother, Deborah, had resided until her death in November 1847.



Sketch of present end wall of house at one time owned and occupied by Chancellor John Johnson, Jr., showing how changes in brickwork reveal the three stages in the development of the dwelling.

Courtesy of Mrs. Orlando Ridout IV

Mary Tyler Johnson was granted letters of administration by the Register of Wills, Baltimore City, April 14, 1857, on the personal estate of her husband; and it was recommended upon complaint of all heirs through Nicholas Brewer, judge of the Circuit Court of Anne Arundel County, that the real estate in Annapolis be sold.

An advertisement in the Annapolis and Baltimore newspapers announced a Trustees' Sale of Houses in Annapolis, on Saturday May 23, 1857, as follows:

No. 1, Dwelling on West Street, for many years the residence of the Chancellor. Double brick—14 rooms, with cellars. Garden planted with fruit trees. Also brick office detached from the house. Handsomely finished—a desirable residence.

No. 2, Frame house and lot on Northwest Street, now occupied by Samuel Evans.

No. 3, Brick three-story dwelling on State Circle now occupied by George Johnson, Esq. The lot extends to a brick wall on Church Street. Possession given immediately.

It is of interest to point out that Item No. 2, the frame house on Northwest Street, is the house which in after years was removed to the southwest campus of St. John's College.

The West Street dwelling, the home of the late John Johnson, was purchased by Joseph Bellis for \$5,000; the Northwest Street frame house was purchased by Mary Tyler Johnson, widow of John, for \$675; and the State Circle property was purchased by Joshua Brown for \$2,555.²¹

Mary Tyler Johnson survived her husband less than a year. Her will, probated September 29, 1858, provided for generous gifts to her sister, brothers, and a niece. She designated that her children receive valuable items from her household—a large parlor mirror and china set of green and gold to Laura, the two chandeliers in the parlors and the plated dinner set to John, an old china set of red and gold to Flora as well as a large silver pitcher, the old family tea set of silver and the parlor clock to George, and one of the large parlor mirrors and a small silver pitcher to Harry. All the rest and residue of her estate was bequeathed to all her children to be divided share and share alike. A codicil to her will, however, bequeathed \$500 to St. Anne's Parish of Annapolis; and devised the frame house and lot on Northwest Street to her sons John III and George M. "trustees for the convenience of her sister-in-law, Henrietta E. Harwood Johnson, through her lifetime and afterwards for her children."²² Title to the little house and lot was duly transferred in compliance with her wishes.²³ The deed reveals that the property was at that time occupied by the recipients of her benefaction, and that it adjoined the properties of Joseph Bellis and William Brewer.

Upon the death of Henrietta E. Harwood Johnson, December 29, 1895, one of her sons, James Iglehart Johnson, purchased this family home on Northwest Street from the other heirs—his cousin, John Johnson III of Baltimore, the surviving trustee, and his three surviving brothers, George, John, and Charles, who, according to the will of their benefactress Mary Tyler Johnson, were entitled to share the property with him sate and share alike.²⁴

After considerable renovation and restoration of the old home, James Iglehart Johnson married Emma Catherine Duval of Annapolis and brought his bride—20 years his junior—to share the quaint residence with him. When he died, February 7, 1917, his will admitted for probate in the Anne Arundel County Court February 20, 1917, indicated that he bequeathed everything he owned—real, personal, and mixed property—to his wife, Emma C. Johnson, for her lifetime and that anything left after-

²¹ A. A. Co. Old Equity No. 159, Dec. 21, 1857, in Court House, Annapolis.

²² Baltimore City Wills. Liber I. P. C. No. 28, f. 293. (H. of R.)

²³ A. A. Co. Deeds, Liber N. H. G. No. 9, 1860-1861, f. 384. In Court House, Annapolis.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Liber G. W. No. 2 (1896), f. 234. In Court House Annapolis.

wards should be divided among his brothers or their heirs. He named his wife to serve as executrix.²⁵ However, after conferring with her husband's brothers, Emma C. Johnson was impressed by the younger brother's inference that he would like to purchase the old homeplace as a residence for his immediate family. As she had no children to carry on the family name she elected to renounce all claim to the provisions of her husband's will and to take in lieu only her legal share of his real property according to the laws of Maryland. This renunciation and a deed of trust to Nicholas H. Green and Robert Moss, attorneys of Annapolis, paved the way for her brothers-in-law to share immediately in the settlement of the estate.²⁶

On May 12, 1917, Charles Johnson purchased the little frame house and lot at No. 9 Northwest Street for \$2,375, and shortly after he and his immediate family took up residence there.²⁷ But they soon decided to sell the old homeplace, and according to the records of Anne Arundel County Court Charles Johnson and wife sold this property to Emma A. Wilen of Martinsburg, West Virginia, May 29, 1918, for \$4,500.²⁸ Mrs. Wilen and certain of her relatives moved into the house, but five years later the property was purchased by Eugene W. Iglehart of Annapolis for \$5,350.²⁹ Mr. Iglehart did not live there however—his purchase was merely an investment. The next purchaser was Ernestine Bigelow, wife of Joseph S. Bigelow, Jr. of Annapolis, as recorded by deed of May 2, 1925, but the purchase price is not named.³⁰

Twelve years later the lot and little frame house at No. 9 Northwest Street were destined to change hands again. The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of Baltimore, which already had a lot and building adjoining this property on Northwest Street, needed room for expansion. The sale, according to a deed from Ernestine and Joseph S. Bigelow, Jr., was made in September, 1937,³¹ and negotiations were opened with historic St. John's College to have the house moved to the college campus where it could be preserved for posterity, and at the same time serve as a useful acquisition. The quaint residence has been referred to as the "Reverdy Johnson House," an appellation which found receptive ears, for the name "Reverdy Johnson" somewhat overshadowed that of his brother "John" who was also a brilliant lawyer and jurist. The State and County Records clearly reveal, however, that Reverdy did not own this property or any part of Lot No. 71 at any time nor did he reside there.

The eventful journey of the house from Northwest Street to the campus of St. John's was made early in December, 1937.³² What more fitting setting for the quaint structure—a typical small house of the late

²⁵ A. A. Co. Wills, Register of Wills Office, Court House, Annapolis.

²⁶ Equity No. 4188, dated 30 Mar. 1917, in A. A. Co. Court House, Annapolis.

²⁷ A. A. Co. Deeds, Liber G. W. No. 134 (1917), f. 309. In Court House, Annapolis.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber G. W. No. 139 (1918), f. 289. In Court House, Annapolis.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Liber W. N. W. No. 73 (1923), f. 87; also Equity No. 4824. In Court House, Annapolis.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Liber W. N. W. No. 105 (1925), f. 352. In Court House, Annapolis.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Liber F. A. M. No. 172 (1937), f. 54. In Court House, Annapolis.

³² *Baltimore Sun*, and *Evening Capital* of Annapolis, Dec. 1-15, 1937.

17th or early 18th century—a home which had meant so much to its various occupants throughout the years. Mary Tyler Johnson little dreamed, when making her will in August, 1858, that the house, which she devised so generously for the use of her sister-in-law, would eventually come to rest on the campus of the old college which had been her husband's and his brothers' Alma Mater.

Lot No. 71 of old Annapolis today presents little semblance to its appearance in years long gone by. The fourteen-room brick residence once owned and occupied by Jonathan Pinkney and some years later by Chancellor Johnson is obscured by buildings erected in its former front yard. Half of it is owned and occupied by the family of Luigi Calabrese,³³ a thrifty barber, while the other half is vacant and sadly in need of repair. The Brewer residence, later the Gassaway home, now houses the offices of architects and lawyers; and the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company's extensive brick building extends far along the northwest boundary obliterating the former site of the small house now reposing on the campus of St. John's College.

A MARYLANDER VISITS PRESIDENT JACKSON, 1832

The following excerpt from the diary of Mrs. Thomas Marsh Forman (1788-1864), describes a trip to Baltimore and Washington during the spring of 1832, and is reprinted exactly as written by that charming but erratic speller. Mrs. Thomas M. Forman, the former Martha Browne Ogle Callender, married General Forman May 1st, 1814, and that same day moved to Rose Hill, on the Sassafras River, Cecil County, Maryland. General Forman (1758-1845) was a leading citizen and large landowner in Cecil County who had served with distinction in the Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812 where he commanded a brigade of militia in the defense of Baltimore. Rose Hill, their lovely plantation of over a thousand acres, still exists today, although reduced in size.

On the day of her marriage Mrs. Forman began a diary that she was to continue with only brief interruptions throughout her life. Interspersed among the everyday events of plantation life are accounts of trips such as the one reprinted here when the General, Mrs. Forman and her maid Harriet, one of forty Forman slaves, visited friends and relatives along the Eastern seaboard. The diaries are in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society through the courtesy of Mrs. Forman's great-niece, the late Mary Forman Day.

May 27 Sunday the General Harriet and I left this in the Steamboat [1832] Washington for Baltimore left at around 10Clock and arrived

³³ A. A. Co. Deeds, Liber F. S. R., No. 39 (1928), f. 273. In Court House, Annapolis.

- at Barnams hotel at 5 in the evening found our parlor and chamber ready for us on the first floor
- 28 Monday Mrs Skinner ¹ and I went out a shopping. Mrs Charles Carrol ² called.
- 29 Tuesday Mrs Skinner Doct McLane ³ the General and I went out to the races; very warm and durty a beautiful coars a very jenteel essemblage of people all conducted with great propriety 5 horses run
Mr Craig ⁴ won the two beautiful silver pitchers which was made for the occasion and my husband placed them in the brides hands Mrs Gilmore ⁵ formerly Miss Ellen Ward to present to Mr Craig which she done very handsomely Mrs Carrol brought me back to Barnums in her carriage, Mrs McLane called
- 30 Wednesday Mrs Carrol called and took me out to Homewood to spend the day a beautiful spot it is she has five lovely children
- May 31 Thursday I went on to Washington in Mrs McLanes carriage had a very pleasant ride reached thair about 5 in the evening
- June 1 Friday Mrs McLane took me to the capitol it is a splendid building I was much pleased with the senite chamber great taste displayed in the arrangement of the hanging, and much more

¹ Elizabeth Glen Davies of Baltimore married John Steuart Skinner of Annapolis Tuesday, March 10, 1812: *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, March 12, 1812. John S. Skinner was appointed Postmaster of Baltimore by President Madison and served in that capacity for twenty years until removed in 1837 by President Van Buren. Skinner is best known as the pioneer of the American agricultural press, and as editor-publisher of the first American sporting journal, *The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, whose first number appeared in August, 1829. For an interesting account of John Steuart Skinner and his descendants, see Harry Worcester Smith, *A Sporting Family of the Old South* (New York, 1936).

² Mrs. Charles Carroll was born Mary Digges Lee, June 9, 1799. She married Charles Carroll (1801-1862), grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 4, 1825. Mrs. Carroll died December 23, 1859. Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton 1737-1832, with His Correspondence and Public Papers* (2 vol.; New York, 1898), II, 439.

³ Probably Louis McLane (1786-1857), an intimate friend and neighbor of the Forman family, who is mentioned throughout the diary. In 1832, McLane was Secretary of the Treasury in Jackson's cabinet. In 1812, he had married Catherine Mary Milligan, eldest daughter of Robert Milligan of Maryland. *Dictionary of American Biography*, Edited by Dumas Malone (22 vols.; New York, 1933-1958), XII, 113-115.

⁴ According to Mr. Skinner's account of the Spring Meeting at Baltimore's Central Course, which commenced May 29, 1832, Mr. J. C. Craig's Pirouette took second in the first race on the opening day. That same day Mr. Craig's five year old mare, Virginia Taylor, won the second race, "The Ladies Cup," which consisted of three two-mile heats. Virginia Taylor finished second in the first heat, and won the last two with times of three minutes fifty-eight seconds and four minutes five seconds: J. S. Skinner, ed. *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* III (Baltimore, 1832), pp. 574-576.

⁵ According to records in the Dielman File at the Maryland Historical Society, Ellen Ward married Robert Gilmor, Jr. on May 21, 1832. Robert Gilmor (1808-1875) was known for his estate in Baltimore County, "Glen Ellen," and as the father of Colonel Harry Gilmor, the Confederate raider.

decorum than in the house of representatives. I was shocked at the indecorum asperity and vehemence of the manner of several of them, particularly Mr McDuffie⁶ all lounging with their hats on some lazing and, talking, some reading newspapers, not the least attention paid to the speaker. I was at the presidents and was much pleased with his agreeable conversation and manners it is an elegant establishment and furnished with great taste and splendor.

I went to the different departments of war state, and treasury and was much gratified

June We rode round the town to see all that was to be seen and we was to go to Mount Vernon but the Generals business would not allow us to stay which I regretted very much as I was very anxious to see it.

June 2 After an early dinner we left Washington and reached Baltimore at dusk, found Barnums house full to overflowing could only get a chamber

Sunday June 3 it rained all day. . . .

Monday we left for Rose Hill with our sisters and Miss Emory Stiles. had a very pleasant time up and found our carriage waiting for us reached here about 5 in the evening.

C. A. P. H.

⁶ George McDuffie, a Representative from Edgefield, S. C., was born in Georgia, 1790, and died at Cherry Hill, S. C., March 11, 1851. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), p. 1533.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Politics in the Border States. By JOHN H. FENTON. New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1957. vi, 230 pp. \$5.50.

The neglect of American political history which characterized the post-World War I generation of historians, who preferred to devote their attention to the relatively newer fields of social and economic history, has ended in recent years. Political historians have come into their own once again, but now it is expected that they will make use of the information and techniques derived from social and economic history, in order to produce a broader and more realistic view of the nation's political development than we have had before. Politics can no longer be seen as the unfolding of a "manifest destiny," nor exclusively as the doings of great statesmen. And increasingly, the modern political historian performs his work through intensive investigation of developments on a regional or state basis—thus giving due recognition to the diversity of conditions that govern the conduct of political life in these far-flung United States. Through such investigations, alone, can we gather the basic material necessary for wider generalizations concerning the history of the nation as a whole during a given political era.

A noteworthy addition to the type of study described above is the work of John H. Fenton, a political scientist by profession. In *Politics in the Border States*, Fenton examines closely the political evolution of Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Maryland, with special emphasis on contemporary (post-1932) trends. Each state is studied independently, and then a series of general characteristics, felt to be applicable to the region as a whole, is set forth in the author's concluding chapter. For the earlier parts of his story, the author apparently relies heavily on secondary sources, but for the more recent era of Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower, he has skillfully employed the techniques of interview, and statistical analysis of ethnic, economic, and election return data.

As Fenton demonstrates, the early pattern of settlement of the Border States was of crucial importance to their political development, making them a meeting ground of Southern slaveholder, Southern mountaineer, and Northern yeoman farmer. Consequently, they became a meeting ground of Bourbon Democrats *versus* Northern and mountain Republicans in the post-Civil War years, with the Bourbons generally supreme. In the twentieth century, however, the accelerated influx of Republican-oriented Northerners, urbanization, and the political realignments that accompanied the New Deal, have grossly undermined the Bourbons' control of the Democracy, and have encouraged the G. O. P.'s hopes of augmenting its

power in the Border States. Franklin Roosevelt cemented the urban, labor, and coal miner vote to the Democratic Party, and converted the Negroes from the Republican standard, to such an extent that these "liberal" elements have in most instances successfully displaced the conservative Bourbons as the decisive power in Democratic party affairs. The latter development has shifted many Bourbons to the Republican cause, however, while the suburbanized populations surrounding the large cities have also exhibited a Republican affinity. Meanwhile, the G. O. P. has been able to count more than ever on the allegiance of the lowest economic strata of the population—the mountaineers—who have been Republican since Civil War days, who have *not* benefited from New Deal farm policies, and who have in fact become resentful of the New Deal's inflationary boons to organized labor and city-folk. (The author's clear delineation of the mountaineers' attachment to the G. O. P. is a healthful antidote to the over-generalized statement that the New Deal won the support of "common people," or "poor people," throughout the country, and serves to demonstrate again the importance of the regional or state-level approach to political history). The further development of this complicated situation is a question for the future, but the author has done a good job of pointing out the trends to be watched—as far as the Border States are concerned.

On the other hand, his contention that the Border States' experience sets the probable pattern for future developments in the deeper South is tenuous, to say the least, and he does not seriously try to prove it. The simple fact is that the deeper South's background, and its reaction to post-1932 developments, have not been similar to those of the region which Fenton studied. Furthermore, his suggestion that Border State politicians like Truman, Barkley, Neely, and Clements are peculiarly apt at compromising North-South differences, because of their training in bridging such gaps in their home states, is also open to question. On the matters that really count—that is, the Negro's status and civil rights—Border State spokesmen, like all Americans, have been forced to choose one side or the other—witness the case of Mr. Truman. In any event, on such contemporary issues, as in 1860, it is doubtful whether compromisers are of real service to the nation.

From a literary standpoint, this book leaves much to be desired. It suffers from what historians regard as symptoms of the political scientists' "occupational disease": a too antiseptic use of statistics, charts, and graphs; a tendency toward "jargonese"; and the overly-routine enumeration of "factors," "influences," and "causes." Nevertheless, historians (especially, perhaps, the most literate ones) must not overlook works like this one. Indeed, they would do well in the future to cultivate the statistical and analytical methods utilized by political scientists, before making sweeping generalizations about the New Deal or other eras of our political history.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Georgetown University

The Public Buildings of Williamsburg, Colonial Capital of Virginia. By MARCUS WHIFFEN. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1958. 286. \$12.50.

This comely volume represents the first of a projected series on the architecture of Williamsburg, and it is a welcome relief to find at long last something on the subject which is not in the common run of superficial pictorial albums put out in the last few years.

Written by the architectural historian of Colonial Williamsburg, the work is largely based on research and records made by and for the architects of the Restoration in the last 31 years. It is unfortunate that the architects themselves did not write this story, to make it absolutely first-hand.

It is, first of all, as the author points out, a book about the buildings as they existed in the 18th century, not as they stand today. He has ably used the mammoth amount of source material, especially the typescript copybooks of historical notes and the research reports. The work reads something like a diary: it is stated in one place that "a dozen years and more went by, with nothing to record in these pages." There is wit, too, as in the description of the "woman of parts." It is a well-documented tome and good as a reference work.

But the most serious error occurs in the first sentence of the book, wherein is the *ex-cathedra* statement that the colonial architecture of Williamsburg is the same as that of Tidewater Virginia. On the contrary, there was much tidewater architecture in the 92 years before the founding of Williamsburg in 1699; and even afterward in Tidewater there were local building schools independent of the Capital.

The ten chapters are arranged chronologically, so that the reader is made aware of what is going on in the buildings at one time or period—an excellent method of presentation. For instance, chapter 4 deals with the "Palace before 1710," and chapter 7 with the "Reign of George II," wherein the addition of the Ball-room and Supper-room to the Palace is described. In the last chapter, "Since 1780," there is an outline of the work of the Restoration even to itemizing the bouquets given the architects. "The fact that [the Reverend] Dr. Goodwin's backer was Mr. Rockefeller," states the author, "was a well-kept secret" in 1928. As a matter of fact, Dr. Goodwin first told publicly at the University Club in Baltimore in 1933 the story of how he interested Rockefeller in Williamsburg and of the amusing incident of the bedroom slippers.

The chief value of the book lies in its contribution to the English background of Williamsburg architecture; but on the other hand it must be admitted that credit is not given to the American builders who created a fine architecture on their own account and adapted it to local conditions. The author has already written a study of Stuart and Georgian churches in England and is at home with the Georgian style in Great Britain. One of the able comparisons which is brought out is that of the Williamsburg Palace with the "apparently rather earlier" Edial Hall, Staffordshire, which it resembles externally, because of common antecedents in England.

There is in the book no awareness of the exterior semblance of the Palace to the earlier Governor's Castle in St. Mary's City—another prototype. The author believes, too, that the College and the Capital are first examples in America of new building types; that the Court House of 1770 was the forerunner of the porticoed courthouses of rural Virginia; and that Bruton introduced the cross plan into church architecture in the Old Dominion.

When particular American buildings are discussed outside Virginia, the ground is more unfamiliar. There is no cognizance of Maryland's early Palace of St. John's, the first known in the Colonies, when that "other colonial Palace," Tryon's, is compared to the Williamsburg Palace. The buttresses of the Jamestown Brick Church are medieval, not "a medieval survival," as stated—a viewpoint old enough to be Kimball-ish. And then of course Old Trinity Church in Dorchester County, Maryland, is not "eighteenth century," as claimed; reference to the M. V. Brewington research report on the subject, made for the Maryland Historical Society, would have cleared up that point. There are some, too, who believe Governor Sharpe's temple-formed Whitehall antedated Jefferson's temple-form design of 1780 for the Williamsburg Palace, which the book asserts would have been "the first temple-form house" in the country.

The text is cluttered with many long quotations in fine print with unexplained words like "Lop," "Mundelian," and "Foot lesses." Long lists of itemized disbursements in pounds and shillings, worthy of footnotes, and a plentiful use of parentheses make for tedious reading. Aside from these comparatively minor criticisms this is a work which every library should have. And the superb ink drawings by Moorehead, who modestly forgot to sign or initial them, are about the best thing in the volume.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

Easton, Md.

The Uncivil War: Washington During the Reconstruction, 1865-1878.

By JAMES H. WHYTE. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1958. 316.
\$5.00.

The author tells us that in writing this book his purpose is to produce a more comprehensive account of the Reconstruction period in the District of Columbia, to focus on the question of Negro suffrage, and to place all this in a larger frame than local historians have heretofore used. Having reexamined the facts "fully and objectively" he hopes to "sweep away the cobwebs of heresay and prejudice."

This laudable ambition has been achieved only in part. The author has industriously gone through a great deal of source material and has undoubtedly added to our factual knowledge, but he has not added appreciably to our understanding of the meaning and significance of the

material. In spite of his valiant efforts, some cobwebs remain. The trouble seems to lie in a lack of historical perspective and want of experience in dealing with large masses of historical data. Instead of confining his efforts to issues basic to his purpose, he wanders over a wide field and in some instances loses himself and the reader in a mass of detail. Not only is the book weak from the point of view of interpretation, it shows a lack of expertness in historical craftsmanship. Incorrect and obsolete methods of citation are used in a system of documentation that is fragmentary only. Numerous manuscript and archival collections are listed in the bibliography with little or no reference in the footnotes so far as this reviewer has been able to determine.

Logically at least, we would expect the story of reconstruction in the District of Columbia to present interesting points of contrast with the story in the rest of the South. Here the Congress by constitutional guarantee possessed unlimited powers and was in a position not only to exercise direct control but to observe first hand the social and economic conditions of the freed men. And yet the story is not vastly different from other parts of the South. The Negro was freed and for a while possessed the vote. But nothing was done for him economically if we except the opportunity to be deported to a foreign land. (The act of 1862 freeing the Negro in the District provided funds for the compensation of slaveholders and for the colonization of Negroes.) Jim Crowism operated in fact if not in law and the Negro never possessed any considerable degree of social equality. The Negro vote was exploited in the District, as elsewhere, by unscrupulous politicians. The main difference, in short, between the District and other southern states was that in the District all voters, not just Negroes, were disfranchised.

The story of how the residents of the District lost the vote is interesting but very complicated. Briefly, until after the Civil War both Georgetown and Washington City elected their own mayors while Washington County was administered by the Levy Court whose members were appointed by Congress. In 1871 the charters of both municipalities were set aside and a territorial type of government for the entire district was established. President Grant appointed Henry D. Cooke, brother of the famous banker, as the first governor. The legislation of 1871 also set up a Board of Public Works headed by Alexander Shepherd, a young and energetic business man and confidant of President Grant. Under Shepherd the Board embarked on an ambitious program of public improvement designed to transform Washington from a dreary Southern town into a capital worthy of a great and growing country. In doing so the Board engaged in high-handed tactics, wasted a great deal of money, and ran up the public debt far beyond the statutory limit. When the panic of 1873 hit, Cooke closed the doors of his bank and resigned from the District government. Shepherd was then appointed Governor. In treating the activities of Grant's crew in the District Mr. Whyte seems inclined to excuse a great deal for the sake of "progress." Congress in 1874 abolished the territorial system and set up a commission form of government in which district residents were without the franchise. The large Negro vote in the District was one

of the elements that led to this outcome, and it remains one of the difficulties in recovering home rule for the District today.

HARRY L. COLES

Ohio State University

The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson.

By ROBERT D. BASS. New York: Henry Holt, 1957. 489. \$5.75.

In Dr. Bass's *The Green Dragoon* we have, at last, a full dress biography of an important British officer during the American Revolution. Banastre Tarleton has been long neglected by American historians because of the strong feelings engendered by his actions during the War of Independence: actions which gained him the well-earned sobriquets "bloody" and "butcher." Tarleton's military campaigns are traced in great detail and fill nearly half of the book. The style of the author's narrative is lively and at first leads one to believe that this biography may be fictionalized, but such an impression is not born out by a close reading. It is evident that Dr. Bass has pursued his research with great diligence and apparent delight. There are numerous quotations throughout the book, many of good quality and well worth reproduction, but their effect is often marred by their frequency. Many of the letters, on occasion strung together by no more than a line or two of narrative, could better have been summarized. The brief notes on sources gathered at the end of the volume are, perhaps, a publisher's compromise with printing costs, but serious students would prefer specific citations at least for direct quotations.

The title of the book suggests some of the difficulties encountered between the covers. A single "Dragoon" can scarcely lead this bi-sexual double life. Although Mary Robinson—attractive, urbane, witty—is worth a biography in her own right, and her long relationship with Tarleton necessarily makes her figure prominently in any work about him, she is never really a co-equal in the book. The early chapters of the work move haltingly, often impeded by the alternation of chapters between the two figures which, as yet, have nothing to do with one another. The picture drawn of Tarleton is a good one: advocate of the bloodiest forms of all-out warfare, consummate egotist, gambler, wastrel, roué and yet apparently possessed of some sort of infectious charm. The years after his return to England, with its picture of the decadent and debauched life of the upper classes in late eighteenth century London, may prove to be the author's most important contribution to our knowledge of that turbulent era.

In his discussion of Tarleton's political life as a Member of Parliament from Liverpool, the author on several occasions uses that dangerous word "radical" to describe the Dragoon's political activities. Since Tarleton's most pronounced political stand was probably his defense of the lucrative slave trade of his shipper constituents in opposition to the efforts of Wilberforce to have that trade abolished, and since that stand would

not normally be regarded as "radical" the term does deserve a specialized definition if it is to be used at all. Published in an attractive format and accompanied by handsome and informative illustrations, this work can be useful either to students of the American Revolution or of the society of late eighteenth century England.

Colorado State University

CARLOS R. ALLEN, JR.

The Plantation South. By KATHERINE M. JONES. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1957. 412. \$5.00.

Understanding the South is a task that confronts every generation of Americans. Life in these United States has been cast in the image of the leveling democracy of the urbanized North. Yet the special traditions of the South have been involved in the great crises of the Republic. The shapers of the Constitution, as well as the architects of the Revolution, were Southern men. Thus knowledge of the South in its formative period is essential to grasping the meaning of life in this country.

Miss Jones' book should help Americans understand this most distinctive of regions. Indeed this sort of book, which is an anthology of writings about the South set down in ante-bellum times, is the best of possible ways to reach an understanding of the Southern states. The earliest account is dated 1799, the year in which the new nation mourned the death of the greatest Southerner of them all, George Washington, and the last one was penned in 1861 by a British journalist who had come to report the news of the infant Confederate States of America.

That the South has always been different is abundantly demonstrated in this book. Perhaps nowhere is this more clearly revealed than in an account by G. W. Featherstonhaugh, a British geologist. On a visit to South Carolina College in 1834, Featherstonhaugh dined with a group of professors and other Columbia gentlemen. "A stranger dropped in amongst them from the clouds," wrote the Englishman, "would have hardly supposed himself amongst Americans. . . . It was quite new to me to hear men of the better class express themselves openly against a republican government, and to listen to discussions of great ability, the object of which was to show that there never can be a good government if it is not administered by gentlemen."

The book is by no means a collection of writings by and about a small minority of great planters. The plantation, as defined in this anthology, may be a vast estate or it may be a small, rough and unprofitable farm operated by a small work force. The image of the agrarian civilization that shines through these pages is, however, essentially the image of the South seen over the years. There is no myth-making in this collection of accounts. Nor is there any need to create myths, for the writings make clear that men of wit and women of charm were a historical reality in the South, not simply excerpts from a Hollywood scenario.

This is the complete South of plantation days—Jefferson's library of

7,000 books at Monticello; country meals of cold roast turkey and opossum washed down "with milk and whiskey"; a grim account of a slave auction and the trader advertising "a rattlin' good breeder"; Joel Poinsett, the statesman, listening to a Swedish woman read Emerson's essays as they sat under a magnolia at the edge of South Carolina's Pee Dee River; a slave burial at night, with the dead woman's baby being passed from one person to another across the coffin.

The overall impression left by this book is of the fantastic diversity of life in the plantation South of the 19th century. This book tells the good and the bad, the amusing and the tragic concerning the South. The region appears in these pages as one to which no other section can compare in human interest.

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

"*The News and Courier*"
Charleston, S. C.

The End of North's Ministry, 1780-1782. By I. R. CHRISTIE. London: Macmillan and Company, 1958. xiii, 429 pp. \$8.50.

This study is in the tradition of Sir Lewis Namier's famous study: *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*. This application of the Namier technique, one which has become quite productive, brings out all of the strengths and weaknesses of the method. The strengths are obvious; a detailed study of the politicians of the time, both great and small, and a rigorous analysis of their motives in supporting and/or opposing crucial political questions of the day. The weakness of such a study involves actually one's conception of history; to this reader what is lacking is the placing of political issues in the broader framework of history. This is a matter of choice obviously, for it was the author's intent to make the study narrow.

Mr. Christie, Lecturer in Modern History at University College, London, gives the reader a greater understanding of the workings of the King's government in the last two years of North's ministry. His precise, almost day to day account of events in Parliament and Cabinet left this reader awestruck at the great mass of detail and the painstaking research involved. But it would also be advisable to point out that the reader gets quite involved and sometimes loses his way in the small backwaters of British politics. These backwaters are indeed important but this reviewer at least became slightly impatient before the book was finally read in its entirety. The information and analysis was within itself illuminating and informative; but such a work as this persuades this reader that, although the biographical approach is certainly important (and here Mr. Christie has performed an outstanding service), when so many "little" names are included it is like being at a huge reception, knowing few people, and having real difficulties in being properly introduced to a portion of the guest list.

GEORGE A. FOOTE

Goucher College

Names on the Land. A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States. By GEORGE R. STEWART. Revised and enlarged edition with illustrations. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958. xii, 511 pp. \$6.00.

The first edition of Mr. Stewart's *Names on the Land* was published in 1945. This, the second edition, contains the original text of 389 pages and new material of over one hundred pages including a group of maps, charts, and pictures illustrating place-names, chapters on Alaska, Hawaii, Current Affairs, and a section of "Notes and References." This last covers not only the new material but also the original chapters which were not annotated in the first edition.

Names on the Land is not a dictionary of place-names, but rather a narrative telling the story of our country through the evidence of place-names. Events and people dating back to the first explorations of the New World have been commemorated in place-names. Some are easily recognized, others have been changed through the years and only a historian and linguist such as Mr. Stewart can trace out the why and when of these changes. This story of our country is not limited to political history. Place-names give tangible evidence of varying social customs and linguistic additions and changes. Some of these changes were phonetic attempts at pronouncing Indian or foreign names. Others were the product of folk etymology resulting in names as people thought they should be. One of the difficulties in tracing place-names is that of sifting these legends and conjectures to arrive at the fact.

An isolated example of the origin of a place-name hardly does justice to Mr. Stewart's work, but some idea of place-name tracing may be had from his paragraph on Yonkers (N. Y.). p. 71.

Still a little farther north was the settlement known officially as Colen Donck, 'Donck's Colony.' But this Adriaen van der Donck bore a countesy title 'Jonkheer,' meaning about the same as 'Squire.' By that title his tenants usually addressed him; before long they began to call Colen Donck merely 'the Jonkheer's, and so came Yonkers.'

Names on the Land is leisure reading only in the sense that it is highly entertaining. It contains a wealth of well organized information holding the interest but not easily assimilated at one sitting. An excellent index adds to its value as a reference book.

J. LOUIS KUETHE

Johns Hopkins University

Days At Cabin John. By EDITH MARTIN ARMSTRONG. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1958. 224. \$3.50.

Days At Cabin John is a novel depicting the life of Maryland neighbors in the late 1920's living along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in the area of Cabin John below Great Falls on the Maryland side of the Potomac River. This area borders on a stream rich in legend and history, Cabin John Branch, which winds its ways over the rocks and through a deep ravine to join the river. One of the largest bridges of its kind, with a single stone arch of 220 feet, spans the stream. Though the bridge was officially named Union Arch, it has always been known as Cabin John Bridge. It was begun in the year 1853 at the time Franklin Pierce was President of the United States.

The dialect of the "old-timey" folks is amusing and interesting as it portrays sayings and anecdotes characteristic of persons who learn from wild-life, hard work and Christian living, the true meaning of life. The stories of the principal character, Mrs. Myrtle Hebbs, with gossiping gusto, are vividly presented. Mis' Rosey, another interesting character, was a member of the Hermon Church on Persimmon Tree Road. The little white-painted church with the traditional steeple and long narrow glass windows nestles on a small green knoll with its adjoining cemetery.

Mrs. Lilly C. Stone, founder and first President of the Montgomery County Historical Society, is at the present time (January 1959) the oldest living member of Hermon Church and is no doubt one of its members who gave the author the "homey-feeling" referred to on page 42. In the early years of the Society, the author was Vice President. Colonel Willis Bergen, minister of the Hermon Presbyterian Church since 1947, is Chaplain of the Society.

MRS. JOHN G. McDONALD

Montgomery County Historical Society

A Family Lawsuit. By SIDNEY MITCHELL. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1958. xi, 210 pp. \$4.00.

It is seldom that a reviewer is presented with a piece of historical writing which reads like a fascinating novel, but is invested with reality by the presence of well-known historical characters.

A Family Lawsuit is handled in three parts: Part I contains background information about Betsy Patterson and Jérôme Bonaparte and events leading up to their marriage in 1803; Part II is a translation of Betsy's pleadings in the lawsuit for a share in her husband's estate after his death in 1861, probably with a forlorn hope of having Betsy's son, as the eldest son of Jérôme proclaimed by Napoleon III second in succession; and Part III depicts Betsy after the annulment of her marriage, an unhappy "divorcée," living alone or with her son in lodgings all over Europe, returning finally to live out in Baltimore what remained of her ninety-four years, an embittered old lady.

Every one thinks of Betsy as a charming, beautiful belle, but to a picture of beauty this book adds a lively wit which dominated many a social gathering, with also a flair for financial transactions, inherited doubtless from her father who had amassed one of the largest fortunes in Maryland. Indeed, a remarkable tribute came from Ambassador Galatin who felt that had Betsy joined forces with Emperor Napoleon, "the fate of Europe might have been different."

The book is based on French as well as American sources, including the Patterson-Bonaparte Letters in the Maryland Historical Society, which are liberally quoted in the text. It is also enriched by several illustrations of famous paintings of Betsy, Jérôme and others and by geneological tables of the American and European branches of the Bonaparte family.

ELLA LONN

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 5, Executive Miscellanea. By GUST SKORDAS and ROGER THOMAS. [Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 11.] Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1958. xii, 198 pp.

Readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are already familiar with the "Rainbow Series" of the Maryland State Archives and the seven calendars of these documents previously published by the Hall of Records. This eighth and last calendar contains materials of the same period which were not included in the earlier compilations. Most of the materials are the records of the several executive bodies which governed Maryland, viz., the Governor and Council (both provincial and state), the Convention of Maryland and the Council of Safety. Over two-thirds of the 1,116 entries fall within the 1775-1778 period, although the overall span of years is 1684-1821.

The materials in this calendar consist of papers in the Blue Books which are not related to the Bank Stock Papers, to which that series is dedicated; a few papers in the Red Books which were inadvertently omitted when those calendars were issued; the records in Portfolios III and IV; and records in Boxes I, II, and VII of the Executive Papers. The papers in Portfolios III and IV consist of papers which obviously were supposed to have been bound in the Rainbow Series but instead, for some unknown reason, were placed in portfolios. The records selected from the Executive Papers for inclusion in this calendar are important papers of the period, most of which have not been printed. Boxes I, II, and VII contain documents of the Convention of Maryland, 1775-1776; papers relating to the Council of Safety, 1775-1777; and documents of the Governor and Council, March-June 1777, respectively. The documents in Boxes III to VI of the Executive Papers were not calendared because most of them have been printed in the *Archives of Maryland*.

The style of calendaring used has been described in Morris L. Radoff's "Practical Guide to Calendaring," *American Archivist*, XI (April-July 1949), 123-140, 203-322. The abstracts are arranged chronologically, but each calendar number is followed by the specific citation to the original document. There is an index to names and places and a finding key giving the location of any item in the bound volumes, the Portfolios, or the Executive Papers.

Dr. Radoff and his staff deserve rich praise and the highest commendation for having completed the calendaring of the very valuable Colonial and Revolutionary documents in the custody of the Hall of Records. Such detailed calendaring, of course, is expensive. That this extravagance was fully warranted is manifested by the orders for the calendars by libraries of major research institutions. Historians throughout the country have recognized the importance of these documents and are grateful that these rare papers are now completely usable through the aid of the calendars.

*National Archives,
Washington, D. C.*

MABEL E. DEUTRICH

Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer. By Brig. Gen. G. Moxley Sorrell, C. S. A. Edited by BELL IRVIN WILEY. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1958. xxii, 322 pp. \$5.00.

Kentucky Cavaliers in Dixie: The Reminiscences of a Confederate Cavalryman. By George Dallas Mosgrove. Edited by BELL IRVIN WILEY. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1957. xxvi, 281 pp. \$6.00.

Both of these books are handsome, liberally illustrated reissues of lively reminiscences that have been difficult to obtain in recent years except at collectors prices. (In *The South to Posterity* the late Dr. Freeman included the Sorrell volume in his very select "Distinguished Personal Narratives" list of outstanding books on the Civil War.)

Sorrell, a Georgian, at the age of twenty-six was chief of staff of Longstreet's First Corps, ANV, and also commanded a brigade under A. P. Hill in the closing months of the War. He wrote easily and with an intimate knowledge of the major field officers of the Army of Northern Virginia and the various engagements in which it took part.

Mosgrove, clerk, orderly, copyist and messenger of the Fourth Kentucky Cavalry and its parent brigade, saw service under the famous John Hunt Morgan as well as in Virginia under General Early. One of the more interesting accounts is Mosgrove's description of the battle of Saltville, Virginia, where wounded U. S. colored troops were massacred by enraged Tennesseans. It was at Saltville, incidentally, that the last surviving Eastern Confederate veteran of the War, John W. Sallings, of Slant, Va., served.

All in all, the well-known Bell Wiley has done another attractive job of editing these two volumes, and both can be highly recommended.

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS

Md. Historical Society

Irish Families: Their Names, Arms, and Origins. By EDWARD MAC-LYSAGHT. Dublin: Hodges Figgis and Co., Ltd., 1957. 366. (Barnes & Noble. \$20.00).

This beautifully illustrated, scholarly volume will be particularly useful to students of family history in Maryland, where traditions of aristocratic Irish lineage are numerous. The author, who is Chairman of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, has made an exhaustive study of Irish Christian names and surnames, their historical origins and geographical distribution. There is a chapter on distortions, and a section which explains the meaning and use of armorial bearings and crests, which will be helpful in this country where there is often confusion on these two points. The book contains twenty-seven plates in color, each containing nine individual armorial bearings, painted by the Heraldic Artist in Dublin Castle, and accompanied by the technical heraldic descriptions. It is a pleasure to read, and later to refer to this book, the publishers of which are justifiably proud, since, among other things, it is an excellent example of contemporary Irish industry.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN

Frederick, Maryland.

The Home Team: 100 Years of Baseball in Baltimore. By JAMES H. BREADY. Baltimore: the Author, 1958. 67. Illus. \$4.50.

It's been a long time—right after the depression and home brew—since we squinted between the slats in the left field fence at Oriole Park and looked in on Cliff Melton, George Puccinelli, Les Powers, Woody Abernathy and Bill Lohrman. Heroes all.

There was a preferred location down near the foul line where the boards had warped or else it was a case of bad carpentry. It made for the best peep show in town. Kids in short pants and some in knickers, too, used to fight each other for preferred position. It was part of growing up—when wars, television sets, space ships and atom bombs seemed as unrealistic as touching the moon.

We found ourselves back peering through the old knot-hole with a new book that's all about Baltimore and the game of baseball. The two have been synonymous for 100 years.

As for this literary and pictorial report of a century of baseball progress in Baltimore, it's all wrapped up in a bright volume written and published

by James Bready and released under the name of "Home Team." The growth, heritage, and history are all there. Names out of the glorious Oriole past, like Willie Keeler, John McGraw, Ned Hanlon, Jack Dunn, Babe Ruth, Lefty Grove, Max Bishop, Joe Hauser and Tommy Thomas, are once again in the starting lineup.

Bready brings them back into focus as he recounts 100 seasons in remarkable style and detail. In fact, according to Bready, Baltimore has won 6,032 games and lost 5,518 over that long haul.

The birth of the game in Baltimore is recorded as July 12, 1859, which is 20 years after Abner Doubleday supposedly invented the sport at Cooperstown, N. Y. A. Henry Pohlemus organized a team known as the Baltimore Excelsiors.

Since then, Baltimore has been represented in eight different professional leagues and played in as many parks—from the old Madison Ave. Ground of the Excelsiors to the showplace Memorial Stadium home of the new American League Orioles.

The "Old Orioles," said to be so tough they spit tobacco juice in spike wounds, fought among themselves when they weren't battling the opposition. Keeler and McGraw once carried an argument which started on the field, into the locker room.

They pounded each other with their fists and shouted salty insults. Then along came Wilbert Robinson, the Oriole captain. He pulled them apart and pitched both into a huge vat of water. It was the team bathtub. They didn't have shower rooms in those days. Keeler and McGraw got a drenching besides cooling down their tempers.

Bready recalls the time in 1923 when Chief Bender and Lena Styles were both suspended from the team for exhibiting bad table manners in public. At a banquet in the Emerson Hotel honoring the team, Bender and Styles threw rolls at each other. It put baseball and the Orioles in a bad light and Dunn decided he had to discipline them.

In his long, rich and documented book, Bready devotes two pages of text to Babe Ruth, his boyhood, discovery by the Orioles and ultimate climb to the highest pinnacle of stardom. As a little known fact, Bready points out that Ruth never hit a home run as an Oriole. But he hit 714 over a 21-year span in the major leagues with the New York Yankees and the two Boston clubs.

The Bready production is as much a picture presentation as it is a literary effort. Hours of endless research and probing went into the book. Many of the photographs are reproduced for the first time.

How do you tell the story of Baltimore baseball, 100 years, in review? The writer has culled the important developments and spotlighted the more prominent personalities. He has pushed aside the insignificant so as to emphasize the essential.

It's like looking through a knot-hole at a golden century of Baltimore baseball and the storied Orioles. May their future 100 years be as successful as those previous have been eventful and romantic.

"The News Post"
Baltimore, Md.

JOHN STEADMAN

NOTES AND QUERIES

House and Garden Pilgrimage: The headquarters of the Society will be included in the Mount Vernon Place tour of the Pilgrimage to be sponsored this spring by the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, the Baltimore Museum of Art and the Maryland Historical Society. The date of this tour will be April 29, when the Women's Committee of the Society will hold open house 10:00 A. M. to 5:00 P. M. The Society will also exhibit important papers relating to the history of the Mount Vernon area.

Society of The Ark and The Dove: Through the continued generosity of the Society of The Ark and The Dove, the Maryland Historical Society has been enabled to continue with the important work of collection and preservation of materials relating to Maryland's Seventeenth Century background. Under the provisions of a recent grant, the important notes relating to the Calvert family in England, made by the late Charles W. Bump, and which have been in the possession of the Society since 1908, are now being photocopied, thus insuring their preservation and availability to scholars in the years to come.

Parker Genealogical Contest: Seven entries for the Sumner and Dudrea Parker Genealogy Contest were received during 1958. These are now in the hands of the judges and announcement of the winners will shortly be made. The contest was established in 1946 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker and is intended to encourage the preparation in useful form of pedigrees of Maryland and related families. Entries for the 1959 contest should be received by December 31 of this year. Cash prizes will, as usual, be awarded.

Hagley Museum: The Hagley Museum is again offering two fellowships in American History. The program is of two years duration, upon completion of which the fellow is awarded the Master of Arts degree. The course of study is conducted jointly by the University of Delaware and the Museum. Hagley Fellowships carry an annual stipend of \$1800 and are awarded in April for the following academic year. Inquiries may be addressed to: Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, 101 West Tenth Street, Wilmington, Delaware.

The Longwood Library announces its sponsorship of a proposed edition of selected correspondence of Rear-Admiral Samuel Francis Du Pont for the years 1861-1865, prepared by Rear-Admiral John D. Hayes, U. S. N. (Ret.), 1970 Fairfax Road, Annapolis, Md. Du Pont commanded the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and led the memorable naval attack against Charleston in 1863. Though the bulk of his letters is included in the large collection of Du Pont family papers now at Longwood, Admiral Hayes and the Director of the Longwood Library would welcome communications from anyone having knowledge of materials which exist elsewhere, and particularly letters from Du Pont to his fellow officers.

The South Carolina Archives Department announces publication of the very important colonial source material, *The Colonial Records of South Carolina: Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1750-1754*. In 1955, the Archives Department published a volume containing a carefully edited text of the *Journals of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1710-1718*. The second volume, now published, presents the documents appearing in three additional "Indian Books." The third, and final, volume in the series is already in the process of being printed. The series is under the editorship of William L. McDowell, Jr., of the Archival staff.

Information Keach: Information is requested about the Keach family. Who were the parents of John R. Keach, b. Mch. 1795, d. May 2, 1826, at Mt. Sterling, Ky? Methodist Circuit Rider. Address: H. J. Baker, 1412 W. Main, Crawfordsville, Ind.

CONTRIBUTORS

EDWARD P. ALEXANDER is Vice President and Director, Division of Interpretation of Colonial Williamsburg. He is author of several articles on the interpretation by museums and historical societies of their local history. "New Faith in the American Heritage" was presented at the Second Annual Conference of Historical Societies of Maryland in 1958.

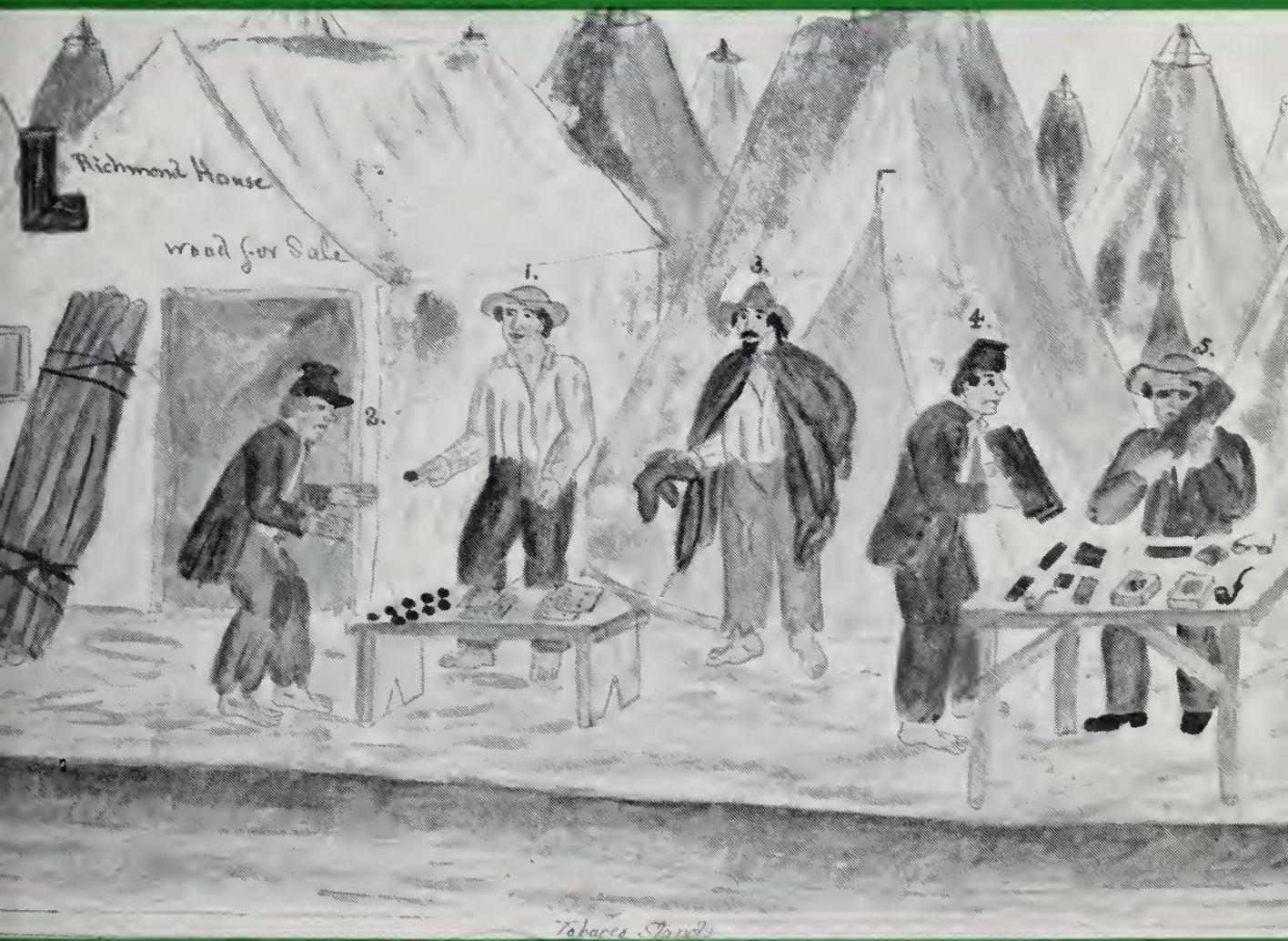
JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II is at present a member of the history department of Southwestern College at Memphis, Tennessee. He was formerly a Research Associate at Colonial Williamsburg and has edited "Documents Relating to the Colonial Tobacco Trade," *Md. Hist Mag.*, LII (June, 1957), 153-156.

FRANKLIN R. MULLALY is a member of the National Park Service and was one of the three historians for the Historical and Archeological Research Project conducting the investigation into the appearance of Fort McHenry at the time of the Battle of Baltimore. He has contributed several reviews to the *Magazine*.

WILLIAM B. MARYE is Corresponding Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society and an authority on Maryland place names on which subject he has written many articles for the *Magazine*.

RUBY R. DUVAL is one of the founders of Historic Annapolis, Inc. She has published articles in the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*. Her story "The Frigate *Constellation*" in the *Proceedings* of December, 1935 was quite influential in arousing interest in saving the vessel for posterity. *Shipmate* of February, 1959 contains her latest work: "Matthew Fontaine Maury—Man of Genius."

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Omenhausser's Confederate Prisoners at Point Lookout

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

June · 1959



What's beneath the surface?

A man—his son—and a boat. It's a golden moment—one we'd all like to have last forever. But you, the man, grow older—and your son grows up. Now is the time to provide for his future, and for the rest of your family too. We will be pleased to discuss with you and your attorney the advantages of creating a Trust Fund either during your lifetime or by your will. In so doing, you will be safeguarding your family's future—no matter what is beneath the surface.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 54, No. 2

JUNE, 1959

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Queen Henrietta Maria: Maryland's Royal Namesake <i>Milton Rubincam</i>	131
A Note on the Free School Idea in Colonial Maryland <i>Clara P. McMahon</i>	149
Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade: Appendix <i>John M. Hemphill, II</i>	153
II. Fort McHenry: 1814: The Outworks in 1814 <i>S. Sydney Bradford</i>	188
Sidelights	210
Gettysburg as Described in Two Letters from a Maryland Confederate	
Reviews of Recent Books	213
Woolfolk, <i>The Northern Merchants and Reconstruction, 1865-1880</i> , by William Foran	
Nichols, <i>Franklin Pierce . . .</i> , by Harry L. Coles	
Bass, <i>Swamp Fox: the Life and Campaign of General Francis Marion</i> , by Ellen Hart Smith	
Chesney, <i>The Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine . . .</i> , II, by Henry M. Thomas, Jr.	
Manakee, comp., <i>Maryland in World War II: Vol. III: Home Front Volunteer Services</i> , by Frank F. White, Jr.	
Klapthor and Brown, <i>History of Charles County, Maryland</i> , by Reginald V. Truitt	
Notes and Queries	221
Contributors	223
Maryland Historical Society Report for 1958	224

Cover picture is a reproduction of one of 46 watercolors by John T. Omenhausser of Confederate prisoners confined in Point Lookout Prison, Maryland. See H. P. Manakee, "Cover Picture" *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIII (June, 1958), 177-179.

Omenhaussers captions read: "1. Here's the place to get a big chew tobacco for a cracker. 2. You ought to give one a big chew for this cracker, it's not been handled much. 3. Mister don't you want to buy a cheap pair of socks for ten cents. I want to buy something to eat. 4. Don't you want to buy a cheap lot of tobacco, you can double your money on it. 5. No! I don't want to buy it its musty."

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Richard Walsh, *Editor*

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QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA: MARYLAND'S ROYAL NAMESAKE *

By MILTON RUBINCAM

THE names of six of the thirteen original states honor members of our former royal family, namely, Virginia (after the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth I), North and South Carolina (King Charles I), Maryland (Queen Henrietta Maria), New York (the Duke of York, afterwards King James II), and Georgia (King George II). Of these, five derive their names from ruling sovereigns who are well known in history, and the sixth in honor of a Queen Consort who played a significant rôle in the reign of Charles I but who is little known to Americans.

Henrietta Maria of Bourbon, Princess of France and Navarre and Queen of England, should be better known to Marylanders,

* The writer is much indebted to his friend, John I. Coddington, of the Department of History, Haverford College, Pennsylvania, for his careful review of the draft of this article and for his helpful suggestion concerning its improvement.

whose State bears her name and some of whose leading families are her lineal descendants. The year 1959 marks the 350th anniversary of her birth, the 250th of her death, and the 310th of her husband's martyrdom.

Historians have found it difficult to remain indifferent to Henrietta Maria. Either they like her, or they dislike her. They criticize her for what they regard as her sinister influence over her husband, King Charles I, or they admire her for her undoubted qualities of courage and determination. She was "a frivolous passionate woman," declares one,¹ "fond of power, but careless of the use she made of it." She was "endowed with personal charms which in a queen might be termed beauty," states another,² "and with all the grace and gaiety of her native land. . . . She had courage, decision, and a quick although shallow intellect. . . . [She] proved in more ways than one the evil genius of the Stuart line." A great German historian wrote that Henrietta Maria had "a quick, spirited and lively intelligence."³ A noted English historian calls her "the mother of many troubles in England and of more to the House of Stuart."⁴ The spectacle of a young and lovely Queen leading an army to her husband's aid evoked in the greatest living Englishman today, Sir Winston Churchill, an intense expression of admiration for her indomitable courage.⁵

Such are the opinions held by some of the 19th and 20th century historians of the woman whose name the State of Maryland proudly bears.

Henrietta Maria was born on the 25th of November 1609. She was the youngest of five children of Henry IV, King of France and Navarre, by his second (and very capricious!) wife, Marie de' Medici, daughter of Francis I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, by his imperial (and very haughty!) wife, Archduchess Johanna of Austria, daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand I.⁶

¹ Sidney Low and F. S. Pulling, eds., *The Dictionary of English History* (London, 1928), p. 589.

² William Hunt and Reginald L. Poole, eds., *The Political History of England* (12 vol.; London, 1907), VII, 131-132.

³ Leopold von Ranke, *A History of England, Principally in the Seventeenth Century* (4 vol.; Oxford, 1875), II, 339.

⁴ G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England* (3 vol.; New York, 1953), II, 163.

⁵ Winston S. Churchill, *A History of the English Speaking Peoples* (4 vol.; New York, 1956), II, 239.

⁶ Milton Rubincam, "The Royal Ancestry of George Washington Parke Custis," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXV (April, 1957), 225-228.

Her Royal Highness was baptized by the Papal Nuncio at Paris, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, afterwards Pope Urban VIII.⁷

The little Princess was nearly six months old when, on May 14, 1610, François Ravallac's poniard ended the career of her father, who may be described alliteratively as able, affable, ambitious, audacious, and amorous. He was succeeded by his minor son, Louis XIII, under the regency of Queen Marie de' Medici, whose defects of character her husband had viewed with foreboding.⁸ During her government, in which her worthless favorites played the controlling part, France lapsed again into the anarchy from which she had been raised by Henry IV's determined measures. Her regency was ended by Louis XIII in 1617, when he grasped the reins of government in his own incapable hands. Henrietta Maria's childhood was passed in the midst of court intrigues, political squabbles, persecutions of the Huguenots, wars, revolts, and the rise to power of Cardinal de Richelieu, whose iron will ultimately elevated France to the forefront of European nations.⁹

In 1623 two young Englishmen calling themselves prosaically John and Thomas Smith passed through Paris on their way to Madrid. Here "John Smith" caught a brief glimpse of his future wife, Princess Henrietta Maria, at a Court Masque.¹⁰ He was in reality Charles, Prince of Wales, who, accompanied by George Villiers, Marquess (later Duke) of Buckingham ("Thomas Smith"), was traveling incognito to Spain to woo King Philip IV's sister, the Infanta Maria. The marriage project fell through, however, and the two young men returned home, much to the relief and joy of the English people, who did not favor the Spanish match anyway.

Negotiations for an alliance were now opened with the Court of France. The story is quaintly told by a writer of the reign of Charles II:¹¹

⁷ Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest* (6 vol.; London, 1875), IV, 137.

⁸ M. Guizot and Mme. Guizot de Witt, *Nations of the World Series: France* (8 vol.; New York, 1902), IV, 6.

⁹ See especially, J. R. Moreton Macdonald, *A History of France* (3 vol.; New York, 1915), II, 134-178.

¹⁰ *The Reign of King Charles . . .* (London, 1655), p. 7: ". . . he delaid there one day where fortune entertained him with a sight of the Princess *Henrietta Maria* at a Court Masque; this view he stole undiscovered through the benefit of a false hair . . ."

¹¹ Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England . . . From the Conquest, Anno 1066 to the Year 1677* (London, 1683), p. 540.

Overtures are made for a Marriage with the Daughter of *France*, which King *James* breaks to his Council, who jointly applaud it; whereupon Parliament being again summoned, and the business propounded, it was entertained by them with an unanimous consent, and proposed that the Earl of *Holland* be forthwith sent to feel the Pulse of the *French* King in order to the Match, in whom was found a ready inclination; . . .

King Louis's pulse having been found normal, ambassadors were exchanged between him and King James, with the result that a marriage agreement was signed on November 10, 1624. James I did not live to welcome his French daughter-in-law, however, for he died at his Manor of Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, March 27, 1625, and was succeeded by the Prince of Wales as Charles I. The royal couple were married by proxy in the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame at Paris, May 1, 1625, the Duke of Chevreuse (a cadet of the great House of Guise) acting for his kinsman, King Charles.¹² The ceremony was performed by Cardinal de Richelieu. The 15-year-old Queen embarked at Boulogne and arrived at Dover, where she was met by her 25-year-old bridegroom, and conducted to Canterbury. Here, on June 22, 1625, "the Royal Nuptials were most gloriously accomplished; thence with equal splendour they came to Gravesend; and thence by Barge to *Somerset* House. After a few days they removed to *Hampton* Court by reason that the Plague was now hot at *London*." ¹³

Henrietta Maria, who was the first French princess to marry an English king since Margaret of Anjou became Henry VI's wife in 1445, was described (in somewhat exaggerated terms) by a contemporary as follows: ". . . this daughter of France, this youngest branch of Bourbon, is of a more lovely and lasting complexion, a dark brown; she hath eyes that sparkle like stars; and for her physiognomy she may be said to be a mirror of perfection." Sir Simon d'Ewes, who went to Whitehall especially to see her, mentioned her "radiant and sparkling black eyes," which seem to have been her most striking characteristic.¹⁴ Her beauty was attested to even by one who did not cherish fond recollections of her; the great Earl of Clarendon wrote that "The

¹² The King's grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots, was the daughter of James V of Scotland and his French wife, Marie de Guise.

¹³ Sandford, *op. cit.*, pp. 540-541.

¹⁴ John Heneage Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England During the Reign of the Stuarts* . . . (6 vol.; Boston, [n. d.]), II, 311.

queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him [Charles] a just return of noblest affections.”¹⁵ One who did love her described her in glowing terms: “She was beautiful, kind, spiritual, familiar, good, generous, and liberal; she was honored by all her subjects and tenderly loved by her immediate servants.”¹⁶ It is questionable if she was “honored by all her subjects” during her husband’s lifetime; their wholehearted respect for her did not come until late in her life, and was particularly exhibited on the occasion of her death.

The early years of the Queen’s married life were unhappy. Her explosive temper and positive opinions, her quarrels with the King, whom she accused of meddling even in the smallest details of her domestic economy, her refusal to be present at his coronation on February 2, 1625/26, because it was performed according to Anglican rites, his dismissal of her French attendants, her Catholic religion, which made her husband’s subjects fear and distrust her, were hardly conducive to harmony in the royal household. She fought with his favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, but in August, 1628, a certain John Felton, nursing private grievances, removed this thorn in her side by assassination. This unexpected event had the effect of bringing the royal couple together, so that within a short time there were no more devoted husband and wife in England.¹⁷

King Charles was handsome, highly educated, proficient in several languages, and possessed a polished manner and a knowledge of history, theology, mathematics, and the fine arts. He also had more than his share of the famous Stuart perversity and obstinacy. The statement by one authority¹⁸ that the Queen had a “shallow intellect” is belied by the assertion of another¹⁹ that she shared with her brother, Gaston, Duke of Orléans, a “passionate love of painting, taste in architecture, and scientific knowledge of music.” Her early portraits, as well as contemporary

¹⁵ G. Huehns, ed., *Clarendon . . .* (London, 1955), p. 100.

¹⁶ Mme. de Motteville *Mémoires . . . The Camden Miscellany*, VIII, (Westminster, 1883), New Series XXXI, 19. The quaint 17th century French version reads: “Elle estoit belle, aymable, spirituelle, familière, bonne, jénéreuse et libérale; elle estoit honorée de tous ses sujets et tendrement aymée de ses serviteurs particuliers.”

¹⁷ Sandford, *op. cit.*, p. 541; Maurice Ashley, *England in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1954), p. 37; Churchill, *op. cit.*, 188.

¹⁸ *Pol. Hist. Eng.*, VII, 132.

¹⁹ Strickland, *op. cit.*, IV, 141.

descriptions, reveal her as an attractive young woman. Her actions during the trying period of the Civil War denominate her as a true daughter of the heroic and strong-willed Henry IV. She had none of the weakness of her mother, Marie de' Medici, and her spineless brother, Louis XIII. It is true that she was given to political intriguing, as her detractors assert, but it must be remembered that she was brought up in an atmosphere of intrigue and duplicity, arts in which her husband, Charles I, also excelled. In England her un-English name of Henrietta was seldom used by contemporary writers, who preferred to call her Queen Mary.²⁰ The character of both Charles and his consort was above reproach; they did not stoop to the immoral practices of their two kingly sons. This was one good trait which Henrietta Maria inherited from her mother, Queen Marie de' Medici, who was a highly moral woman for that age;²¹ in this respect, she did not take after her father, Henry IV, whose illegitimate children were added to the ranks of the French nobility with noteworthy regularity.

Nine children were born to the English rulers: Charles, Duke of Cornwall, born and died May 13, 1629; Charles, Duke of Cornwall, later Prince of Wales, born May 29, 1630; Mary, Princess Royal, November 4, 1631; James, later Duke of York and Albany, October 15, 1633; Elizabeth, December 29, 1635; Anne, born March 17, 1636/37, died November 5, 1640; Katherine, born and died June 29, 1638/39; Henry, Duke of Gloucester, July 8, 1640; and Henrietta Anne, June 16, 1644.²² In the first year of the reign of her son, James II, an anonymous biographer of Henrietta Maria commented appreciatively on her ability to fill the royal nursery: "This was the service she did her King and his government, to bring him each year a prop of empire."²³ Years later, her maternal qualities were praised by her sons with whom she was not on good terms during their years of exile. Charles II wrote "that never any children had so good a mother," and James II declared her to excel in "all the good qualities of a good wife, a good mother, and a good Christian."²⁴

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 163. The English called her "Queen Henry," but the name was changed to Queen Mary by the King's order.

²¹ G. E. Young, *The Medici* (New York, 1933), p. 634.

²² Henry Murray Lane, *The Royal Daughters of England* (London, 1910), I, 360-361.

²³ *The Life and Death of Henrietta Maria de Bourbon . . .* reprinted by George Smeeton (London, 1820), p. 13.

²⁴ I. A. Taylor, *The Life of Queen Henrietta Maria* (2 vol.; London, 1905), I, vi.

The Court of Charles and Henrietta Maria was the most splendid in Europe. It was graced by such artists as Anthony van Dyck and Peter Paul Rubens, both of whom received the honor of knighthood at His Majesty's hands; Ben Jonson, the Poet Laureate; his successor, Sir William Davenant, who, in 1649/50, believed himself to be Governor of Maryland;²⁵ Charlotte de la Tremoille, Countess of Derby, whose spirited defense of Lathom House against an attacking Parliamentary army in 1643 made her one of the heroines of the Civil War; the gallant young cavalier, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, the King's nephew, who was very nearly converted to Catholicism by the beautiful and persuasive Queen;²⁶ and Edmund Waller, the poet, who never tired of describing the Queen in exaggerated verse.

King Charles's complete lack of a sense of humor was more than compensated for by his consort's gaiety, vivacity, and wit. Indeed, she shocked the prudes of the realm by acting in Walter Montague's *The Shepherd's Complaint* (1631 or 1632) and other plays and ballets.²⁷ In 1634 William Prynne published a work entitled *Histrion-mastix*, which was a violent attack on the stage, and by implication he severely criticized Henrietta Maria for her active participation in court dramas. He was arrested and condemned to the pillory and suffered the loss of his ears. The Queen made every effort to save him from this cruel sentence. Edmund Ludlow, a bitter enemy of hers and of her family, and later a lieutenant-General under Cromwell, had few kind things to say about the reigning Stuarts, but in commenting on her vain endeavor to save Prynne he declared that she "deserves honourable mention, and she shall have it."²⁸

In 1632 the King paid a high compliment to his Queen. Sir George Calvert, 1st Baron Baltimore, was granted a considerable territory north of the Potomac River, in America. Out of deference to his sovereign, he left the naming of the Province to

²⁵ B. Howell Griswold, Jr., "A Maryland Governor Who Never Governed," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVIII (June, 1933), 101-118. Davenant was popularly supposed to be an illegitimate son of Shakespeare, a misconception he never attempted to dispel.

²⁶ Eva Scott, *Rupert, Prince Palatine* (New York, 1899), p. 30.

²⁷ William Drago Montague, *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne . . .* (London, 1864), II, pp. 9-10.

²⁸ Gen. Ludlow's Memoirs were published in 1698-99. See Strickland, *op. cit.*, IV, 194-195. He was a cousin of Roger Ludlow, noted 17th century statesman of Connecticut. Other relatives were in Virginia and New York.

Charles, explaining that he had wished to call it something in honor of His Majesty, "but that he was deprived of that happiness there being already a Province in those parts called Carolana" (Carolina). The King, at the time straining to have Englishmen use Mary instead of the French, Henrietta Maria, proposed to name it in the Queen's honor, and asked: "What think you of Mariana?"²⁹ Lord Baltimore didn't think much of it, pointing out that Mariana was "the name of a Jesuite that wrote against Monarchie."²⁹ Whereupon the King suggested *Terra Mariae* (Land of Mary), to which Baltimore assented,³⁰ and Maryland it has been to this day.

Queen Henrietta Maria seems to have had a connection with the Neale family of Charles County, Maryland. In 1636 James Neale, afterwards a prominent legislator and Councillor, settled in the Province with his wife, the former Anne Gill. Between 1644 and 1647 they went to Europe, he becoming a merchant in Spain and Portugal. An unconfirmed family tradition asserts that Madam Neale had been either Maid-of-Honor or Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Henrietta Maria.³¹ When we examine the chronology of the period, we are faced with certain difficulties in accepting the statement. If Anne (Gill) Neale were Maid-of-Honor, it must have been when she was *unmarried*, for she was in Maryland with her husband from 1636 to 1644. She could not have been the Queen's lady-in-waiting thereafter in England, for Henrietta Maria was living in exile in France from 1644 to 1660. It is possible that she spent the latter part of that 16-year period in the Queen's service in France, while her husband was engaged on several missions in the Iberian Peninsula for the Duke of York. In 1660 they settled permanently in Maryland, and James Neale

²⁹ Juan de Mariana, *De Rege et Regis* (Toleti, Spain, 1599).

³⁰ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland to the Present Day* (3 vol.; Baltimore, 1879), I, 51-52.

³¹ Hester Dorsey Richardson, in *Side-Lights on Maryland History* (2 vol.; Baltimore, 1913), II, 184, reports the story only as a family tradition. It is given as a positive fact if one can believe Alice Norris Parran in *Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families*, I (2 series; Baltimore, 1935), 209. Harry Wright Newman in *The Maryland Semmes and Kindred Families* (Baltimore, 1956), says (p. 288) that it has been stated "many times" that Madam Neale was a lady-in-waiting to the Queen. However, Dr. Jean Stephenson, of Washington, D. C., who investigated the family years ago, informed the author that Mrs. Richardson was the first to report the story, simply as a family tradition. It was not mentioned in 1912 by Christopher Johnson in his article "Neale Family of Charles County" in the *Md. Hist. Mag.* VII (June, 1912), 202-205. A seventeenth century ring which according to tradition was given by the Queen to Madame Neale is in the Md. Hist. Soc.

petitioned for the naturalization of his children who were born in Spain or Portugal. Their daughter, Henrietta Maria, born in 1647, certainly was named in the Queen's honor, and, it is said, was Her Majesty's goddaughter. This girl was twice married, firstly to Richard Bennett, and secondly to Col. Philemon Lloyd. As the latter's wife, on September 25, 1695, she patented a tract of 216 acres which she called "Henrietta Maria's Discovery." Thus the Queen, through her presumed goddaughter, had an indirect connection with the splendid old Lloyd plantation in Talbot County, Maryland.

The events which led to King Charles's downfall are well known and need not be recapitulated in detail here. His quarrels with the Puritans and with Parliament, his troubles with rebellious Scotland, his arbitrary rule from 1629 to 1640, his invasion of the sacred precincts of the House of Commons to arrest the five leaders of the opposition (an act which was instigated by Henrietta Maria), are all of historic record. It was during these critical times that the Queen showed her true mettle and loyalty and devotion to the King. Her influence over him was great, and much of the responsibility for his unfortunate actions must be attributed to her. But she did not desert him in his hour of need, and until his execution she steadfastly sought to serve him. Her undoubted courage was displayed in 1641 when rumors reached her that she and her children were to be abducted from or harmed at Oatlands Park, in Surrey, where they were then. The Queen summoned to her side all men capable of bearing arms, including the scullions in her kitchen. Placing herself in command, she sat up grimly all night awaiting the attempt to do her brood harm. Twenty horsemen were seen prowling nearby, but whether they were scared off by the display of force at the estate or were after other game, is unknown.³²

The flame of war burst over England on August 22, 1642, when, following an old feudal custom, King Charles unfurled the Royal Standard over Nottingham Castle in a symbolic ceremony summoning his loyal vassals to his assistance. The first battle with the Parliamentary army was fought at Edgehill two months later; it was an indecisive engagement. In the same year the Queen, on the pretext of taking her daughter, the Princess Royal,

³² McHenry Howard, "Wye House, Talbot County, Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVIII (Dec., 1923), 293.

³³ Strickland, *op. cit.*, IV, 208-209.

to the latter's husband, William II, Prince of Orange (whom Princess Mary had married by proxy in May 1641, when less than 10 years old), crossed to Holland, where she pawned her jewels in order to raise money for King Charles.

On January 19, 1642/3, Her Majesty, with shiploads of arms and munitions, left Scheveningen, on the Dutch coast near The Hague, for England. "The next day," wrote one of her companions, ". . . the Wind began to rise very high and about midnight, blew a fearfull and furious Storme, which with the intermissions of some showers (one day onely) Tuesday excepted, for six dayes together continued very vehement and terrible."³⁴ The Queen's calm demeanor and courageous bearing were not sufficient to still the panic which swept over her attendant ladies during this time of great peril. To her delight, these lovely creatures, believing that they were about to enter the Next World, blurted out sins which under ordinary conditions they would not have whispered to their Queen. They did not calm down until Her Majesty coolly remarked, "Comfort yourselves, my dears. Queens of England never drown."³⁵

On Thursday, February 16, 1642/3, the Queen boarded her vessel, the *Princess Royal of Great Britain*, and, with a convoy of ships, again sailed for England. She was bound for Newcastle, but off Scarborough the wind blew so heavily that she was forced to put in at Bridlington (sometimes, but erroneously, called Burlington Quay), where she landed on Wednesday, February 22. The royalist Earl of Newcastle, who was in the vicinity, sent an escort under the Marquess of Montrose to welcome her. Her Majesty formally reviewed the troops, who greeted her "with many hearty Acclamations and expressions of their Joyes."³⁶

The following day, four Parliamentary ships under Captain William Batten's command arrived in the bay and began to bombard the town. "One of these ships had done me the favour to flank the house, which fronted the pier," Henrietta Maria, with

³⁴ *A True Relation of the Queens Majesties Return out of Holland, and of Gods mercifull preservation of Her from those great dangers, wherein Her Royall Person was ingaged both by Sea and Land. Also, Her Majesties' Letter sent to the States about the stay of her Ammunition-Ship. Written by One in the same Storme, and Ship, with Her Majestie* (Printed at York by Stephen Bulkley, 1643, by speciall Command), pp. 3-4.

³⁵ Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (4 vol.; London, 1901), I, 93-94.

³⁶ *A True Relation of the Queens Majesties Return*, pp. 11-12, 14-15.

a fine touch of humor, subsequently wrote to the King, "and before I could get out of bed, the balls were whistling upon me in such style that you may easily believe I loved not such music."³⁷ Yet, in spite of the fact that she was under fire for the first time in her life, the Queen's courage did not fail her. Her attendants virtually forced her out of the house, to seek shelter in a ditch some distance from the village. To their consternation, she suddenly wheeled in the street and dashed back into the house. A moment later she emerged, bearing in her arms her lapdog, Mitte, which had been asleep on her bed. As she made her way to a point of safety, a sergeant was shot dead not twenty paces from her.³⁸ For two hours she and her attendants lay in the ditch, until the Parliamentarians retired under threat from the Dutch naval commander, Martin Harpertzoon Tromp, who had escorted her from Holland.

Riding horseback at the head of her troops, the Queen advanced on York, taking Tadcaster on the way.³⁹ "That Ancient City [York] received Her Majesty with many hearty welcoms, and shouts, and blessings accompanying Her all the way Shee went."⁴⁰

Military events in the South kept the Queen penned up in the North until early summer. Then, on June 22, 1643, Anthony Nicoll informed Lady Judith Barrington that "The Queen is certainly come to Newark [in Nottinghamshire] with 4,000 horse and foot; she left behind her 1,500 to face my Lord Fairfax⁴¹ at Leeds, which party, I since hear, has been cutt off by Thomas Fairfax, so that Yorkshire is now clear" (*i. e.* of royalists).⁴² Meanwhile, two armies raced to greet her, one of them, a Parliamentary force under the Earl of Essex, with no friendly intentions. The other was commanded by her husband's nephew, the dashing

³⁷ Mary A. E. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria . . .* (London, 1857), p. 167.

³⁸ Carola Oman, [Carola M. A. Lenanton], *Henrietta Maria* (London, 1936), p. 141; hereafter Lenanton. Churchill, *op. cit.*, II, 238-239.

³⁹ Strickland, *op. cit.*, IV, 222.

⁴⁰ *A True Relation to the Queens Majesties Return*, p. 19. At York she induced the Governor of Scarborough Castle to desert Parliament and espouse the royalist cause. (*Political Hist. of Eng.*, VII, 280.)

⁴¹ Ferdinando, 2nd Lord Fairfax of Cameron, and his son Thomas, later the 3rd Lord, were distinguished Parliamentary generals. Later generations of the Fairfax family were large Virginia landowners.

⁴² *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Part I, Report and Appendix (1877), p. 552a.

cavalry leader, Prince Rupert, who successfully kept himself between the Queen and Lord Essex. He met Henrietta Maria at Stratford-on-Avon, in Warwickshire, where it is said they spent the night as the guests of Shakespeare's daughter. Mrs. Judith Hall. Escorted by the Prince, the Queen continued her march, and on July 13, 1643, at Edgehill, leading 3000 infantry and 30 squadrons of cavalry, some artillery, and many wagons of munitions, she had a dramatic reunion with her husband. The King, Queen, and Prince slept that night at Wroxton Abbey, and on the following day entered Oxford in triumph.⁴³

In the spring of 1644 two Parliamentary armies converged on Oxford, which was in danger of undergoing a long and irksome siege. In April the Queen retired to Exeter, in Devonshire, where, in Bedford House, she gave birth to a child two months later. Through a misunderstanding, the local clergyman gave thanks for the safe delivery of a boy. After dinner, however, the appalling discovery was made that the child was a girl,⁴⁴ who was later named by the King Henrietta Anne, after her mother and aunt, Anne of Austria, Queen-Regent of France (widow of King Louis XIII).

The Queen was now in dire straits. Her youthful beauty which looks proudly down upon us from van Dyck's canvases was gone. The birth of her youngest child had been a particularly difficult experience. Her family was scattered. Exeter was in danger of being attacked. She appealed to Lord Essex for a pass through his lines, but he indicated that her safety was of small concern to him. She has often been condemned for deserting her husband and children at this critical point in their fortunes, but the fact is she was broken in body and spirit, and was beset by a severe illness caused by her daughter's birth. But in addition to her deplorable physical condition, she had another thought—that she could be of more use to her husband in France, than in England, where she was in danger of being captured.⁴⁵

She was forced to leave her baby, who was placed in the care of Lady Dalkeith by the King, and, with one attendant, made her escape to the coast. She had many harrowing experiences, and

⁴³ Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111; von Ranke, *op. cit.*, II, 374.

⁴⁴ *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Part I, Report and Appendix* (1874), p. 296.

⁴⁵ Lenanton, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Taylor, *op. cit.*, II, 307-308.

was very nearly captured. More than once she heard rewards offered for her head. Wan, haggard, and emaciated, she reached the coast and boarded a ship for France. A Parliamentary vessel spotted her, and gave chase. Again she showed her great courage, ordering the captain of her craft not to strike his colors, but, if necessary, to blow up the ship in order to avoid capture. Later, she regretted this order, which she regarded as selfish and un-Christian.⁴⁶ Eventually she arrived in France, where she was kindly received by her sister-in-law, the Queen-Regent. The description of her gaunt and unlovely appearance was graphically given by her friend, Madame de Motteville, in her *Mémoires*.⁴⁷ It appears, however, that while her beauty had been destroyed by the seriousness of her illness and the magnitude of her sufferings, she still had beautiful eyes, an admirable complexion, and a well-formed nose. Her mouth looked unusually large, due to the thinness of her face.

From her place of exile, Queen Henrietta Maria continued to labor incessantly in her husband's behalf. She contacted foreign governments in the hope of securing financial and military assistance. She robbed herself of funds in order to assist the King. Before the year 1646 was half over, however, Parliament had triumphed in the field. The King voluntarily placed himself in the hands of the Scots who, early in 1647, turned him over to his English enemies. In 1648 the Queen begged for permission to return home in order to share his imprisonment, but her request was ignored.⁴⁸ On January 30, 1648/49, Charles I stepped on the scaffold at Whitehall, and was beheaded. He died like a man, completely fearless to the very end. To the last he retained a keen appreciation of the sacrifices his wife had made for him. "Her sympathy with me in my afflictions," he wrote, "will make her virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights, and assure the envious world, that she loves me, not my fortunes."⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Jesse, *op. cit.*, II, 370; Lenanton, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁴⁷ Published in the *Collections de Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, tome XXXVII, 126: "Cette princesse étoit fort défigurée par la grandeur de sa maladie et de ses malheurs, et n'avoit plus guère de marques de sa beauté passée. Elle avoit les yeux beaux, le teint admirable, et le nez bien fait. Il y avoit dans son visage agréable qu'elle se faisoit aimer de tout le monde; mais elle étoit maigre et petite; elle a avoit même la taille gâtée; et sa bouche, qui naturellement n'étoit pas belle, par la maigreur de son visage étoit devenue grande."

⁴⁸ Lenanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

⁴⁹ *The Life and Death of Henrietta Maria de Bourbon*, p. 29.

And how was the news received in Maryland, that province of Lord Baltimore's which had been named in honor of his Queen only 16½ years earlier? Deputy-Governor Greene, acting in the temporary absence of Governor William Stone, lost no time in issuing the following proclamation: ⁵⁰

Whereas Charles of blessed memory King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith &c lately deceased These are to give notice to all persons whom it may concern, and in especial to all and singular the Inhabitants of this Province of Maryland that his eldest sonne Charles the most renowned Prince of Wales the vndoubted rightful heire to all his ffathers dominions is hereby pclaymed King Charles the second of England Scotland France & Ireland defender of the ffaith &c Long live King Charles the second. Given at St. Maries this 15th of November 1649.

THO^s GREENE.

Unfortunately, the Province's allegiance to the young monarch was short-lived. Governor Stone, on his return to the seat of the colonial government, was forced by the Maryland Puritans to disavow his deputy's act and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Commonwealth, which was now headed by Oliver Cromwell.⁵¹

The King's death was a blow from which Henrietta Maria never fully recovered. She continued to live in France, in such greatly reduced circumstances that she was forced to appeal to Cromwell through the half-interested Cardinal Mazarin for payment of her dowry. The crowning humiliation came with the Lord Protector's caustic comment that she, having never been crowned Queen, had no claim on England.⁵²

The Queen's family had varied fortunes during their exile. Her youngest daughter, Henrietta Anne, was smuggled out of England in 1646 by the Countess of Morton (formerly Lady Dalkeith, to whom she had been handed by the King), and was reared by Henrietta Maria as a Roman Catholic. Her son, Charles II, after a heroic attempt to recover his father's throne (1651), was a wanderer in Europe. Her second son, James, Duke of York, fought gallantly in the French Army under the illustrious Marshal Turenne and in the Spanish Army under his kins-

⁵⁰ *Arch. Md. Proceedings of the Council, 1636-1667* (1885), pp. 243-244.

⁵¹ Griswold, *loc. cit.*, 114.

⁵² François Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV*, Martyn P. Pollack, trans. *Everyman's Library* No. 780 (New York, 1935), pp. 54-55; Lenanton, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Strickland, *op. cit.*, IV, 298-299.

man, the great Prince of Condé. Her third son, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, quarrelled with his mother when she unsuccessfully attempted to convert him to Catholicism, fought the Spaniards in 1658, and died in London on September 13, 1660, a few months after the Restoration. Her daughter, Mary, Princess Royal, gave birth to a son, William III, Prince of Orange (afterwards King of England), in 1650, just after the death of her husband, Prince William II; the Princess died in London, December 24, 1660. Princess Elizabeth, the Queen's second daughter, who was noted for her gentle disposition and her excellent knowledge of classical languages, died of a broken heart at Carisbrooke Castle, September 8, 1650, aged less than 15 years.

But in 1660 the Commonwealth came to an end, and Charles II was restored to his father's throne. He arrived in London, May 29, 1660. Later in the year Queen Henrietta Maria, accompanied by her pretty 16-year-old daughter, Henrietta Anne, arrived in the capital where she was received with much ceremony. Her compatriot, Lady Derby (*née* Charlotte de la Tremoille), reported that the Queen's return was greeted "with the acclamations of the whole nation. I saw her on her arrival and kissed her hand . . . Her Majesty charms all who see her, and her courtesy cannot be enough praised. She has constantly received visitors since she came, without having kept her room."⁵³ She was described by that inveterate gossip, Samuel Pepys, in his journal for November 22, 1660, as "a very plain little old woman, and nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garb than any ordinary woman."⁵⁴ Although the diarist and Navy official took due note of Princess Henrietta Anne's good looks, he loyally commented that she was not as handsome as Mrs. Pepys, who was in attendance on the Queen. Only three days earlier, in faraway Maryland, King Charles II's accession was proclaimed by Governor Philip Calvert, who concluded with: "God Save the King and the Lord Proprietary."⁵⁵ On April 23, 1662, King Charles was crowned, and at the end of the following month he married Princess Catharine, of Braganza, daughter of the late King John IV, of Portugal.⁵⁶ Henceforth, Henrietta Maria was known as the Queen Mother.

⁵³ Taylor, *op. cit.*, II, 517-518.

⁵⁴ Henry S. Wheatley, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (9 vol.; London, 1893), I, 209.

⁵⁵ *Arch. Md., Proceedings of the Council*, 1637-67, p. 393.

⁵⁶ There is another indirect American connection here. When Queen Catharine's

Early in 1661 she went to Paris to be present at the marriage of her youngest daughter, Henrietta Anne, to Louis XIV's younger brother, Philippe, Duke of Orléans (March 30, 1661), but in the summer of 1662 she was back in London, where she took up her residence at Somerset House. A few months later Pepys reported rumors that she was married to the unpleasant and dissolute Earl of St. Albans (Henry Jermyn, Baron Jermyn of St. Edmundsbury), who had faithfully attended her since 1628,⁵⁷ but there is no evidence to support the allegation.⁵⁸ Her Majesty's health began to decline in 1665, and on June 24 of that year she left England forever, to seek the clearer climate of France. On September 13, 1665, Pepys, whose initial impression of her appearance had not been very favorable, as we have seen, commented that he saw "a very fine picture of the Queen Mother, when she was young, by Van Dike; a very good picture, and a lovely, sweet face."⁵⁹

The Queen died at her château at Colombes, near Paris, Tuesday morning, August 31, 1669, when she was less than 60 years of age. Her remains were conveyed to the convent of Chaillot, which she had founded in 1651, and from there they were taken to the Abbey Church of St. Denis, five miles north of Paris, and laid to rest with her ancestors, September 12, 1669.⁶⁰

Numerous portraits of Queen Henrietta Maria are in existence, painted by Sir Anthony van Dyck, Gerard van Honthorst, Daniel Mytens (all of whom were at one time or another court painters to Charles I and Henrietta Maria), and others. They are to be found in England, Ireland, Austria, Italy, Sweden, Germany, the United States, and elsewhere.⁶¹ A likeness, painted late in her life by the French artist, Claude le Fevre, shows how rapidly she had aged during the period of her troubles.⁶² In Washington the

brother, King Pedro II, of Portugal, was married by proxy at Heidelberg in 1687, the nuptial oration was delivered by Prof. Dr. Johannes Laurentius Crollius, great-great-great-uncle of Jacob Revercomb, of Shenandoah Co., Va. See the present writer's two articles: "A Hessian Pedigree: Crollius of Marburg," *The American Genealogist*, XXI (1945), 231 (and footnote 21), and "Origin of the Revercombs of Virginia," *Va. Mag.*, XLIII (1955), pp. 76-83.

⁵⁷ *Pepys' Diary*, II, 407.

⁵⁸ Vicary Gibbs, ed. *The Complete Peerage* (13 vol.; New York, 1929), VII, 86.

⁵⁹ *Pepys' Diary*, V, 71.

⁶⁰ *The Life and Death of Henrietta Maria de Bourbon*, pp. 34-35.

⁶¹ Emil Schaeffer, ed., *Van Dyke, Des Meisters Gemälde in 537 Abbildungen* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909), pp. 333, 334, 354, 373, 374, 418, 457, 471; Lenanton, *op. cit.*; Donough O'Brien, *History of the O'Briens* (London, 1949), pp. 214, 260.

⁶² Lenanton, *op. cit.*

National Gallery of Art has a full-length picture of her with her dwarf, Sir Jeffery Hudson, and her pet monkey, Pug; it is a Van Dyck.⁶³ On the several likenesses of her owned by the Maryland Historical Society, a seated portrait, a copy of van Dyck, hangs in the hallway leading to the library.⁶⁴ The State House at Annapolis possesses a Mytens portrait of her.

Queen Henrietta Maria has had a remarkably varied posterity. She was the mother of two Kings of England, Charles II and James II, and grandmother of three English sovereigns, William III, Mary II, and Anne; a Queen of Spain, Maria Louisa of Orléans (the pathetic first wife of the mentally decayed and last of the Spanish Habsburgs, King Charles I); and the first Queen of Sardinia, Anne-Marie of Orléans, wife of King Victor Amadeus II. From the last-named were descended the unfortunate King Louis XVI of France and Navarre, whose head was removed 144 years after a like fate had caught up with his ancestor, Charles I, of England; and the late Crown Prince Rupprecht, of Bavaria, who was regarded by the Jacobites as the rightful King of England. In January 1698/9 Benedict Leonard Calvert, 4th Lord Baltimore, Proprietor of Maryland, married Lady Charlotte, eldest daughter of Edward Henry Lee, 1st Earl of Lichfield, by his wife, Lady Charlotte Fitzroy, illegitimate daughter of King Charles II by the notorious Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine, and granddaughter of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. From this union have sprung George Washington Parke Custis, of Arlington, Va., grandson of Martha Washington and adopted son and biographer of our first President; Charles Benedict Calvert, of Prince George's County, Maryland, founder of the first agricultural research college in America (now part of the University of Maryland), and Member of Congress from 1861 to 1863; George Henry Calvert, poet, biographer, essayist, and Mayor of Newport, Rhode Island; the Baronets Eden, of Maryland; and the former British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, K. G.⁶⁵

The visitor from Maryland will never have an opportunity to stand in reverence before the tomb of his State's royal patroness.

⁶³ National Gallery of Art, *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection* (Washington, 1956), pp. 70-73.

⁶⁴ Anna Wells Rutledge, "Portraits Painted before 1900 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XLI (March, 1946), 25, 297.

⁶⁵ Milton Rubincam, "The Royal Ancestors of George Washington Parke Custis," *Va. Mag.*, LXV (April, 1957), 222-225.

In October 1793, the Revolutionary authorities carried out a senseless decree of the French National Convention. The tombs in the Abbey Church of St. Denis were invaded and the remains of the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses of France, who had ruled that country for nearly a thousand years, were torn from their coffins and hurled into two trenches. On the 16th of the month the coffin of Her late Majesty Queen Henrietta Maria of England was taken from the mausoleum and her body cast into one of the trenches, over which was subsequently poured quicklime in order to hasten the process of decomposition.⁶⁶ The head of the Calvert family of Maryland at that time was George Calvert, of Riverdale, Prince George's County, who was blissfully unaware that the sanctuary of his royal great-great-great-great-grandmother was being desecrated.

⁶⁶ [anonymous] *The History of Paris* . . . (3 vol.; Paris: A and W. Galignani, 1825), III, 409.

A NOTE ON THE FREE SCHOOL IDEA IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

By CLARA P. MCMAHON

ONE of the most widely accepted (and used) definitions of the term "free school" in colonial Maryland is the one which makes it synonymous with the liberal arts. This definition can perhaps be traced to the late Basil Sollers' essay on "Education in Colonial Maryland" which appeared in the U. S. Bureau of Education Circular of Information, No. 2 (1894), *Contributions to American Educational History*, edited by Herbert Baxter Adams, in which Dr. Sollers makes these statements:

I am inclined to believe that "free-school" in this country was used as a compound name indicating a certain grade of instruction, such as we would call "liberal" without assigning to the adjective any descriptive force whatever. The term was imported as a whole. Doubtless "free" was originally descriptive, but of what quality it described is not so evident. It may have been a translation of "libera schola", school for liberal studies; or it may have been analogous to free chapel (*libera capella*) which Giles Jacobs' New Law Dictionary, 1750, defines as "a chapel, so called, because it is exempt from the jurisprudence of the Diocesan. Those chapels are properly free chapels which are of the King's foundation and by him exempted from the ordinary's visitations." In the latter view to which I am inclined, "free schools" would stand contrasted with the schools attached to monasteries. To clear up the subject a critical study of the early use of the words in England is necessary; it is certain, however, that "free" as applied to schools in this country was not synonymous with gratuitous, though it is not denied that some free schools may have given gratuitous instruction.¹

Mary C. Cain in her study of the normal school in Maryland²

¹ Sollers, *loc. cit.*, p. 20. Two years after this essay appeared, Arthur F. Leach published the results of a study such as Sollers had suggested, in his volume entitled *English Schools at the Reformation: 1546-48* (Westminster, 1896). His hypothesis, now accepted by scholars as the most plausible, holds that a free school in England was one where no payment was made for tuition fees. When liberal education was meant to be described as given in a school, the word *liberals* was used, not *libera*. Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

² Mary Clough Cain. *The Historical Development of State Normal Schools for White Teachers in Maryland*. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 824 (N. Y., 1941), p. 4.

follows along with this definition of free school as do Charles William Sommerville in his unpublished biography of Maryland's colonial governor, Francis Nicholson,³ and John Walton in his article on Governor Nicholson.⁴

This short comment is not intended to refute this aspect of the meaning of free school, but merely to point out that a liberal arts education may not have been the only thing the colonists here associated with the free school when they used the term. Had this been so, it would then be reasonable to assume that when mention was made of any school intended to provide a liberal education, the school would have been called free without any other title. The literature shows otherwise, however. For example, a Ralph Crouch is said to have come to Maryland around 1639 and to have opened "schools for teaching humanities," probably the first of their kind, according to Sollers.⁵ That same terminology—school for humanities—was used again in a letter from a Jesuit priest to his superior when he wrote of the educational activities of his order in the Maryland countryside.⁶ When citizen Augustine Herrman's will was probated in 1686, the contents revealed that he had bequeathed some of his "Estates . . . for the Use & propagation & propriety of a ffree Donative Scoole and Colledge . . ." ⁷ Since "Donative" was commonly understood to mean a school devoted to the study of the work of Donatus, a fourth-century author of a Latin grammar textbook destined to become so popular that its students were known for centuries as "Donatists," Herrman must have intended to provide a liberal education *free of tuition charge* when he stipulated his school to be free.⁸

³ Charles William Sommerville, *The Life of General Francis Nicholson*. Unpublished biography in the Johns Hopkins Library, pp. 150-151.

⁴ John Walton. "Francis Nicholson, Friend of Libraries," *Ex Libris* XIV, No. 4 (December, 1955).

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Will of Augustine Herrmann of Bohemia Manor, edited by Gilbert Cope in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XV (1891), 321-326.

⁸ In a study of the colonial schools of Virginia, references were found to sixteen different pastors who taught a school or tutored in the homes of the planters. The term "classical school" was used in some of these references; for example, Nicholas Cabell attended the "classical school of Reverend James Maury of Albemarle," and "a dominie . . . Reverend John Cameron, D.D. . . . long taught a select classical school." Guy Wells, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia, Teachers College Contributions to Education*, No. 138 (N. Y., 1923), p. 25.

When the Act of 1696 was finally passed in Maryland under the leadership of Governor Nicholson and others, its intent was to provide "a certain place or places for a free school or schools or a place of study of Latine Greek Writeing and the like . . ." ⁹ The first school was to be established at Annapolis ("Ann Arundell Town upon Seaverne River") and named King William's School, the second at Oxford (or elsewhere, on the Eastern Shore, at the discretion of the governing board), and, as funds increased, in other counties. A self-perpetuating corporation was to control the schools. That in the mind of at least one of the adherents of this free school movement in Maryland was present the understanding that free meant some gratuitous as well as liberal education, we can cite one John Stanley, who was given in 1697 the place of crier in the provincial court when he promised to give the proceeds of his office for the first two years to the funds for the free school. His reason? He remembered the advantages which he had received from a *charitable* education in England. ¹⁰

One other incident seems to support my belief that something in addition to merely a liberal education was implied by the word free when applied to schools in seventeenth-century Maryland. Sir Thomas Lawrence, secretary of the Provincial Court under Governor Nicholson, writing on March 27, 1697, used the adjective "publick" to describe the proposed schools. ¹¹ While this undoubtedly may have been a reflection of English usage (a school established under the authority of a governmental agency, with the care of the school delegated to a body or a corporation), nevertheless I am convinced that Sir Lawrence was thinking of schools in which provision would be made for some poor children who were unable to pay for instruction in the liberal arts. Only a few years later, the Act of 1723 was amended to require the master of every public school to teach as many poor children *gratis* as the Visitors ordered, or to forfeit his position immediately. ¹²

This substitution of public for free school was not a sudden one by any means, either in Maryland or Virginia. When the

⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, XIX (1693-97), 420-426.

¹⁰ Sollers, *loc. cit.*, p. 93.

¹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, 77-79.

¹² Sollers, *loc. cit.*, p. 26.

Bishop of London issued his Query in 1724¹³ to the parish ministers in Virginia, Maryland, and Connecticut, asking "Have you in your Parish any Public school for the instruction of youth? If you have, is it endowed? and who is the Master?" the ministers understood the term to mean simply a school open without charge to at least some of the children in the community where it was located, supported either by endowment, occasional gifts, or taxation.¹⁴

Within this framework, then, I believe we can safely say that a free school in Maryland in the seventeenth century was meant to be, in the eyes of its staunch supporters, Governor Nicholson, Thomas Lawrence and others, a public school where instruction would be offered in the liberal arts free of charge to at least some children whose parents were unable to pay tuition.

¹³ William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (2 vol.; Hartford, Conn., 1870), I, 261.

¹⁴ Guy Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See also the study by William Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia before the Civil War*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 93 (N. Y., 1918).

FREIGHT RATES IN THE MARYLAND
TOBACCO TRADE: APPENDIX

By JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

(Continued from March)

TABLE OF FREIGHT RATE NOTICES FROM THE LAND

ANNE ARUNDEL DEED

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
22 Aug 1705	Richard Johnson	<i>Providence Galley of Md.</i>
7 Sep 1705	James Bradley	<i>Ursula</i>
12 Sep 1705	John Race	<i>South River Merchant</i>
6 Sep 1705	Benjamin Phillips	<i>John and Margaret</i>
10 Sep 1705	Richard Sprackling	<i>Debtford</i>
27 Sep 1705	Henry Gravenor	<i>James and Elizabeth</i>
5 Nov 1705	Francis Watson	<i>West River Merchant</i>
21 Nov 1705	Thomas Cleeves	<i>Panther</i>
23 Jan 1705/06	W ^m Boulton	<i>Betty (pink)</i>
23 Jan 1705/06	William Holeman	<i>Globe</i>
23 Jan 1705/06	Richard Fulton	<i>John & Richard</i>
29 Mar 1706	Samuell Richardson	<i>Faulkener</i>
29 Apr 1706	John Hunking	<i>Owners Adventure</i> (briganteen)
13 Jun 1706	Richard Smart	<i>Speedwell (sloop)</i>
12 Jun 1706	John Sharp	<i>David & Sarah</i>
22 Aug 1706	John Pinnell	<i>Providence (briganteen)</i>
30 Apr 1707	Ralph Reed	<i>Coleman Friggott</i>
3 May 1707	John Fish	<i>Goodwin Friggett</i>
30 Jun 1707	Peter Daile	<i>William, 120 tons</i> 2 guns, 14 men
28 Jun 1707	Dan ^{ll} Watts	<i>Ann Arundel, 210 tons,</i> 18 guns, 30 men
3 Jan 1707/08	John Reas	<i>South River Merch^t</i>
25 Feb 1707/08	John Gill	<i>William & Mary</i>
26 Feb 1707/08	Rich ^d Sprackling	<i>Debtford</i>
5 Mar 1707/08	Sam ^{ll} Richardson	<i>Falconar</i>
10 Mar 1707/08	Ralph Reed	<i>Coleman Friggott</i>
11 Mar 1707/08	Jn ^o Booge	<i>Daniel</i>
18 Mar 1707/08	Henry Gravener	<i>James and Eliza</i>
9 Apr 1708	John Welsh	<i>Hope for Betty</i>
27 Apr 1708	W ^m Dowel	<i>Maryland Merch^t</i>
16 Jun 1708	Rich ^d Johnson	<i>Ric^d & James</i>
19 Jun 1708	Francis Wasson	<i>West River Merch^t</i>
21 Jun 1708	Thomas Cleeves	<i>Golden Lyon</i>
21 Jun 1708	James Bradley	<i>Ursula</i>
23 Jun 1708	Edw ^d Burford	<i>Unity</i>

RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, 1705-1762

LIBER W. T. No. 2, 1702-1708

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
_____	£14/ton	convoy
South River	£15/ton	
South River	£15/ton	
South River	£16/ton	
South River	£15/ton	
Severn River	£15/ton	
_____	£15/ton	
Herring Bay	£15/ton	<i>Note</i>
Severn River	£15/ton	
Herring Bay	£15/ton	
South River	£15/ton	
_____	£15/ton	
_____	£15/ton	
West River	£15/ton	
Severn River	£15/ton	to David Dennis
Annapolis	£14/ton	
Annapolis	£17/ton	fetches
	£16 10s./ton	delivered
South River	£16/ton	to John Goodwin
West River	£16/ton	<i>Note</i>
Patuxent River	£16/ton	
South River	£16/ton	
South River	£16/ton	
Severn River	£16/ton	to David Dennis
Severn River	£16/ton	to John Falconar
Herring Bay	£17/ton	<i>Note</i>
	£18/ton	
South River	£15/ton	to Arden Carleton
Severn River	£16/ton	
South River	£15/ton	to Henry Offley
Herring Bay	£16/ton	
South River	£16/ton	to Isaac Milner
West River	£15/ton	
Herring Bay	£15/ton	liberty
	£14/ton	if delivered
South River	£16/ton	
Patapsco River	£14/ton	to John Hyde & Isaac Milner
	£15/ton	liberty <i>Note</i>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
30 Jun 1708	John Pine	<i>Prosperous Anne</i>
3 Jul 1708	Dan ^{ll} Groom	<i>Hester</i>
8 Jul 1708	Anthony Martin	<i>Mansell Friggott</i>
8 Jul 1708	Henry Hubbart	<i>Dove</i>
10 Jul 1708	Henry Hubbart	<i>Dove</i>
16 Jul 1708	Edmond Longbotham	<i>Leviathan</i>
19 Jul 1708	Edw ^d Burford	<i>Unity</i>
23 Aug 1708	John Blake	<i>Queen Anne Galley</i>
18 Oct 1708	Ephraim Stephyns	<i>Tho^s and Sarah (pink)</i>
1 Nov 1708	Walter Hoxton	<i>Fame</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
1 Jun 1709	John Fish	<i>Batchelor</i>
17 Jun 1711	Charles Broadwater	<i>Robert & John</i>
9 Feb 1711/12	William Ellis	<i>William and John</i>
16 Feb 1711/12	Jeremiah Sampson	<i>Colchester Adventure</i>
13 Mar 1711/12	John Reas	<i>South River Merchant</i>
25 Mar 1712	Benja ^a Jerome	<i>Thomas</i>
17 Apr 1712	Thomas Peighin	<i>Coleman Friggott</i>
27 Apr 1712	Francis Wasson	<i>Richard and Margt</i>
27 Apr 1712	Charles Broadwater	<i>Robert and John</i>
1 May 1712	George Westgarth	<i>West River Merchant</i>
1 May 1712	Edw ^d Phillips	<i>Chiswick</i>
5 May 1712	W ^m Holeman	<i>Globe</i>
6 May 1712	Roger Laming	<i>Cheseapeak Frigatt</i>
28 May 1712	John Carpenter	<i>Brigantine Grundy</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
7 Feb 1712/13	Peter Wills	<i>Susannah & Sarah</i>
4 Feb 1712/13	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
11 Apr 1713	William Ellis	<i>Will: & Joⁿ</i>
29 Apr 1713	Joseph Atkinson	<i>James</i>
30 Apr 1713	John Reas	<i>South River Mercht</i>
30 Apr 1713	Thomas Peighin	<i>Coleman Friggott</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Beards Creek, South River	£15/ton	
Herring Bay South River	£15/ton £14/ton	to Sam ^{ll} Groom <i>Note</i>
South River	£15/ton	liberty
South River	£14/ton	to Robert Wise or liberty
Beards Creek, South River	£14/ton	convoy
Patapsco River	£12 10s./ton £13/ton	to John Hyde & Issac Milner liberty <i>Note</i>
South River	£10/ton	
South River	£16/ton	<i>Note</i>
Severn River	£16/ton	

LIBER PK, 1708-1712

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£16/ton	
Herring Bay	£12/ton £13/ton	delivered } fetched } to John Hyde only
West River	£14/ton	to London
South River	£16/ton	to Isaac Milner
South River	£14/ton	"north about," <i>Note</i>
South River	£14/ton	also "north about"
Severn River	£12/ton	
West River	£12/ton	
Herring Bay	£12/ton	to Capt. John Hyde
West River	£12/ton	to London
South River	£10/ton £11/ton	to Henry Offley liberty
Herring Bay	£11/ton	to London
South River	£12/ton	to London
South River	£11/ton £12/ton	to Thomas Bond liberty

LIBER IB N^o 2, 1712-1718

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£8/ton	"New Gage," liberty
Herring Bay	£8/ton £9/ton	to England to Holland
West River	£8/ton	
South River	£8/ton	
South River	£8/ton	
Severn River	£8/ton	"new guage"

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
30 Apr 1713	George Westgarth	<i>West River Merchant</i>
2 May 1713	Charles Broadwater	<i>Robert & John</i>
6 May 1713	James Bradley	<i>Ursulla</i>
8 May 1713	William Hollman	<i>Globe</i>
25 May 1714	Isaac Scarth	<i>Jonathan and Anne</i>
31 May 1714	William Holeman	<i>Globe</i>
11 Jun 1714	Stephen Robins	<i>Josiah</i>
29 Oct 1714	William Ellis	<i>William & John</i>
1 Feb 1714/15	George Westgarth	<i>Susannah</i>
9 Mar 1714/15	Jos Beezly	<i>Baltimore</i>
9 Mar 1714/15	Jeremiah Sampson	<i>Colchester Adventure</i>
9 Mar 1714/15	Stephen Yoakly	<i>South River Merch^t</i>
1 Jun 1715	Hugh Arbuthnott	<i>Fortune</i>
15 Jun 1715	John Pinnell	<i>Rachell</i>
26 Sep 1715	Matthew Willson	<i>Briganteen Experiment</i>
15 Sep 1715	Andrew Scott	<i>Jonathan Galley</i>
17 Dec 1715	Joseph Beezley	<i>Charles</i>
22 Dec 1715	Mark Noble	<i>Gawin</i>
23 Dec 1715	George Westgarth	<i>Susannah</i>
27 Dec 1715	Charles Wheale	<i>Gilbert</i>
28 Dec 1715	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
11 Jan 1715/16	William Thompson	<i>Prudent Mary</i>
5 Feb 1715/16	William Holeman	<i>Globe</i>
13 Feb 1715/16	Thomas Peighin	<i>Coleman ffrigott</i>
12 Apr 1716	William Ellis	<i>W^m and J^{no}</i>
16 Apr 1716	Peter Wills	<i>Susannah and Sarah</i>
16 Apr 1716	Isaac Scarth	<i>Jonathan & Ann</i>
5 May 1716	Jeremiah Sampson	<i>Colchester Adventure</i>
14 Jul 1716	Thomas Creed	<i>Fforward Galley</i>
5 Jan 1716/17	Joseph Bezeley	<i>Charles</i>
9 Jan 1716/17	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
10 Jan 1716/17	George Curling	<i>Fortune</i>
22 Jan 1716/17	Peter Wills	<i>Susannah and Sarah</i>
28 Jan 1716/17	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
28 Jan 1716/17	Robert Noble	<i>Gawin</i>
31 Jan 1716/17	George Westgarth	<i>Susannah</i>
31 Jan 1716/17	Daniel Mande	<i>Hopewell</i>
2 Apr 1717	Daniell Watts	<i>Globe</i>
27 Mar 1717	John Burton	<i>Henry</i>
10 Apr 1717	Joseph Dunn	<i>Bird Galley</i>
20 May 1717	William Ellis	<i>W^m and John</i>
4 Nov 1717	Henry Ramsey	<i>Experiment</i>
19 Nov 1717	Joseph Bezeley	<i>Charles</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Vest River	£8/ton	"new guage"
Ierring Bay	£8/ton	"new guage," <i>Note</i>
evern River	£8/ton	
Ierring Bay	£8/ton	"new guage"
outh River	£6/ton	
hesapeake Bay	£6/ton	
outh River	£6/ton	
outh River	£6/ton	
Vest River	£6/ton	
Ierring Bay	£6/ton	
evern River	£6/ton	
outh River	£5/ton	liberty <i>Note</i>
hesapeake Bay	£6/ton	
Great Choptank River	£6/ton	fetches
	£5/ton	delivered
evern River	£8/ton	to London, 5s.
		discount for delivery
outh River	£5/ton	to John Forward
	£6/ton	liberty
Ierring Bay	£7/ton	
outh River	£7/ton	
Vest River	£7/ton	
outh River	£7/ton	
outh River	£7/ton	
outh River	£7/ton	
evern River	£7/ton	
evern River	£7/ton	
Vest River	£6/ton	
outh River	£6/ton	
Ierring Bay	£6/ton	
evern River	£6/ton	liberty
outh River	£4/ton	<i>Note</i>
Ierring Bay	£7/ton	
outh River	£7/ton	liberty
outh River	£7/ton	
outh River	£6/ton	
outh River	£6/ton	change of rate
outh River	£6/ton	
Vest River	£6/ton	
Vest River	£6/ton	
atapsco River	£6/ton	liberty to London
Ierring Bay	£6/ton	
outh River	£6/ton	liberty
outh River	£6/ton	
evern River	£7/ton	liberty
Ierring Bay	£7/ton	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
22 Nov 1717	Peter Wills	<i>Susannah and Sarah</i>
25 Nov 1717	William Torver	<i>Recovery</i>
7 Dec 1717	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
28 Jan 1717/18	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
28 Jan 1717/18	Robert Noble	<i>Gawin</i>
31 Jan 1717/18	George Westgarth	<i>Susannah</i>
31 Jan 1717/18	Daniell Mande	<i>Hopewell</i>
6 Feb 1717/18	Joseph Dunn	<i>Bird Galley</i>
10 Feb 1717/18	William Torver	<i>Recovery</i>
15 Feb 1717/18	Peter Wills	<i>Susannah and Sarah</i>
24 Feb 1717/18	Thomas Apps	<i>Colchester Adventure</i>
28 Feb 1717/18	Jn ^o Burton	<i>Henry</i>
21 May 1718	William Ellis	<i>William and John</i>
6 Jun 1718	Archibald Paterson	<i>George</i>
22 Jul 1718	Richard Hinton	<i>Anne Galley</i>
5 Jan 1718/19	Joseph Bezeley	<i>Charles</i>
6 Jan 1718/19	William Torver	<i>Recovery</i>
20 Jan 1718/19	George Westgarth	<i>Susannah</i>
26 Jan 1718/19	Jeremiah Lizland	<i>Samuel Ffrigott</i>
9 Feb 1718/19	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
24 Feb 1718/19	Samuel Read	<i>Susannah & Sarah</i>
2 Mar 1718/19	William Richardson, Jr.	<i>West River Merchant</i>
23 Apr 1719	Phillip Willkinson	<i>Jane</i>
27 Apr 1719	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
30 Apr 1719	Samuel Read	<i>Susannah and Sarah</i>
1 May 1719	George Westgarth	<i>Susannah</i>
1 May 1719	William Torver	<i>Recovery</i>
7 May 1719	William Mudge	<i>Ann Arund^{ll}</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
22 May 1719	John Carpenter	<i>Collchester Adventure</i>
8 Jun 1719	Edwin Tompkyns	<i>Worcisster</i>
16 Jul 1719	Stephen Bull	<i>Eliz^a</i>
19 Aug 1719	Henry Sampson	<i>Experiment</i>
4 Sep 1719	William Greenwood	<i>Margaret</i>
5 Jan 1719/20	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
25 Jan 1719/20	William Torver	<i>Recovery</i>
26 Jan 1719/20	Joseph Bezeley	<i>Charles</i>
26 Jan 1719/20	Peter Wills	<i>Susannah and Sarah</i>
19 Feb 1719/20	Phillip Wilkinson	<i>Jane</i>
15 Mar 1719/20	John Pine	<i>Prosperous Anne</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
outh River	£7/ton	
evern River	£7/ton	liberty
outh River	£7/ton	liberty
outh River	£6/ton	change of rate
outh River	£6/ton	
Vest River	£6/ton	
Vest River	£6/ton	
outh River	£6/ton	
evern River	£6/ton	change of rate
outh River	£6/ton	change of rate
outh River	£6/ton	
Ierring Bay	£6/ton	
outh River	£6/ton	
outh River	£4/ton	<i>Note</i>
outh River	£5/ton	delivered
	£6/ton	fetches, liberty
Ierring Bay	£7/ton	
evern River	£7/ton	
Vest River	£7/ton	
evern River	£7/ton	liberty
outh River	£7/ton	liberty
outh River	£7/ton	liberty
Vest River	£7/ton	liberty
outh River	£6/ton	liberty
outh River	£6/ton	change of rate
outh River	£6/ton	change of rate
Vest River	£6/ton	change of rate
evern River	£6/ton	change of rate
Ierring Bay	£6/ton	

LIBER C.W. N^o 1, 1719-1722

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
outh River	£6/ton	
evern River	£6/ton	
outh River	£5 10s./ton	delivered
evern River	£7/ton	delivered
	£8/ton	"Rowled by the ships Saylors"
evern River	£8/ton	liberty
outh River	£7/ton	
evern River	£7/ton	
Ierring Bay	£7/ton	
evern River	£7/ton	
outh River	£7/ton	
outh River	£7/ton	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
7 Apr 1720	Jethro Brown	<i>Henritta Galley</i>
30 Apr 1720	W ^m Richardson, Jr.	<i>West River Merchant</i>
5 May 1720	Browning Elliott	<i>Hart ffrigt</i>
10 May 1720	William Mudge	<i>Joseph and Mary</i>
10 May 1720	Joseph Attkinson	<i>Severn</i>
11 Jun 1720	Samuel Keate	<i>Elizabeth</i>
15 Jun 1720	Henry Man	<i>Mary and Elizabeth</i>
24 Sep 1720	John Perryman	<i>Alentego</i>
29 Sep 1720	John Jones	<i>John and William</i>
22 Nov 1720	Henry Sampson	<i>Experiment</i>
29 Nov 1720	Thomas Apps	<i>Owners Goodwill</i>
14 Dec 1720	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
29 Dec 1720	William Mudge	<i>Charles</i>
31 Dec 1720	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champion</i>
5 Jan 1720/21	Charles Lucas	<i>Hopewell</i>
23 Jan 1720/21	Darby Lux	<i>Gilbert</i>
2 Feb 1720/21	Thomas Apps	<i>Owners Goodwill</i>
13 Feb 1720/21	William Rennolls	<i>Adventure</i>
21 Mar 1720/21	Stephen Tucker	<i>Young Princess Carolin</i>
28 Mar 1721	Darby Lux	<i>Gilbert</i>
6 Apr 1721	Joseph Atkinson	<i>Severn</i>
11 Apr 1721	Peter Wills	<i>Booth</i>
22 Apr 1721	Samuel Keat	<i>Elizabeth</i>
18 Apr 1721	John Burton	<i>Henry</i>
25 Apr 1721	John Pine	<i>Prosperous Ann</i>
15 May 1721	John Brown	<i>King George</i>
14 Jun 1721	Shadrack Lester	<i>Hammond</i>
16 Jun 1721	John Carpenter	<i>Colechester Adventure</i>
18 Aug 1721	Henry Sampson	<i>Experiment</i>
13 Nov 1721	John Lux	<i>Owners Good Will</i>
2 Mar 1721/22	Edward Burt	<i>Gowen</i>
5 Mar 1721/22	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
5 Mar 1721/22	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champion</i>
6 Mar 1721/22	Joseph Bezeley	<i>Charles</i>
7 Mar 1721/22	Charles Lucas	<i>Hopewell</i>
7 Mar 1721/22	Joseph Atkinson	<i>Severn</i>
7 Mar 1721/22	William Reynolds	<i>Adventure</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Hyde and Co., or Capt. Edwd Hankins
West River	£7/ton	
Chesapeake Bay	£7/ton	
off South River		
Herring Bay	£7 15s./ton	
Severn River	£7/ton	
Herring Bay	£7/ton	
South River	£7/ton	
South River	£8/ton	
Patapsco River	£8 10s./ton	to Thos. Bond
Annapolis	£9/ton	delivered, liberty
	£10/ton	fetch'd to London
Severn River	£9/ton	fetch'd
	£8 10s./ton	delivered, <i>Note</i>
South River	£8/ton	
Herring Bay	£8/ton	
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
West River	£7/ton	
Severn River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Forward
	£9/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Forward
	£8/ton	to London, change of rate
West River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Scarth
South River	£7/ton	to Phillip Smith
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty, change of rate
		<i>Note</i>
South River	£8/ton	to W ^m Hunt
South River	£8/ton	to Thomas Colmore
Herring Bay	£8/ton	to Capt John Hyde
Herring Bay	£8/ton	to Capt John Hyde & Co.
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Lovell
Chesapeake Bay,	£8/ton	to Benj ^a Halley
off Severn River		
Severn River	£8/ton	liberty
South River	£8/ton	to Mr W ^m Hunt
Severn River	£8/ton	"to his frinds"
Severn River	£8/ton	
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Lovell
South River	£7/ton	to Phillip Smith
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Addams
Herring Bay	£7/ton	
West River	£7/ton	to Francis Wayson & Daniel Mand
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
South River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Scarth

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
10 Mar 1721/22	Peter Wills	<i>Booth</i>
13 Mar 1721/22	Ralph Barres	<i>Mayfield</i>
14 Mar 1721/22	Benja ^a Jeram	<i>Success</i>
27 Mar 1722	Stephen Tucker	<i>Young Princess Carolin</i>
11 Apr 1722	Darby Lux	<i>Gilbert</i>
17 Apr 1722	John Burton	<i>Henry</i>
16 May 1722	Shadrack Lester	<i>Hammond</i>
24 May 1722	Robert Hewitt	<i>Catherine</i>
24 May 1722	John Jones	<i>Duke</i>
20 Nov 1722	Clement Brooke, Junr.	<i>Experiment</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEED

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
1 Jan 1722/23	Joseph Bezeley	<i>Charles</i>
14 Jan 1722/23	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
31 Jan 1722/23	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champion</i>
8 Feb 1722/23	Daniell Russell	<i>fforward</i>
16 Feb 1722/23	Andrew Dounkan	<i>Severn</i>
20 Feb 1722/23	George Phillpott	<i>Cinque port</i>
25 Feb 1722/23	Ambrose Cock	<i>Merry Christmas</i>
13 Mar 1722/23	Edward Burt	<i>Gawin</i>
18 Mar 1722/23	John Colvill	<i>Molly</i>
15 Apr 1723	William Reynolds	<i>Adventure</i>
17 Apr 1723	Stephen Tucker	<i>Young Princess of Caroli</i>
18 Apr 1723	John James	<i>Speedwell</i>
24 Apr 1723	Thomas Thorpe	<i>Ffinch Galley</i>
25 Apr 1723	Darby Lux	<i>Jonathan</i>
3 May 1723	John Jones	<i>Duke</i>
16 May 1723	Darby Lux	<i>Jonathan</i>
20 May 1723	John Perryman	<i>Ruby</i>
22 Oct 1723	Darby Lux	<i>Jonathan</i>
3 Jan 1723/24	Thomas Reed	<i>Boneta Brigint</i>
21 Jan 1723/24	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
24 Jan 1723/24	Joseph Bezeley	<i>Charles</i>
28 Jan 1723/24	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
30 Jan 1723/24	James Dickinson	<i>William & Hannab</i>
5 Feb 1723/24	Shadrack Lester	<i>Hammond</i>
12 Feb 1723/24	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champion</i>
14 Feb 1723/24	John Carpenter	<i>Severn</i>
15 Feb 1723/24	Nath ^l Turner	<i>Mary</i>
13 Mar 1723/24	Benja ^a Moorshead	<i>Hopewell</i>
27 Mar 1724	William Raynolds	<i>Adventure</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£7/ton	to Thomas Colmore
Severn River	£7/ton	to Benja ^a Hatley, or Jn ^o Medford
West River	£7/ton	liberty
South River	£7/ton	to Phillip Smith
Severn River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Forward
Chesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to John Hyde & Compa.
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
South River	£7/ton	to Thomas Colmore
South River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£8/ton	" to his friend "

LIBER RCW No. 2, 1722—1724

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Capt. Jn ^o Hyde
South River	£7/ton	to Phillip Smith
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
Severn River	£7/ton	
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
West River	£7/ton	
South River	£7/ton	to Thomas Colmore
South River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
South River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Scarth
South River	£7/ton	to Phillip Smith
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Capt. John Hyde & Co.
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
South River	£7/ton	<i>Note</i>
Severn River	£5/ton	liberty, change of rate
		<i>Note</i>
South River	£7/ton	to Phillip Smith
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
Herring Bay	£16/ton	<i>Note</i>
South River	£7/ton	to Phillip Smith
Herring Bay	£6/ton	to John Hyde & Co.
South River	£6/ton	to Phillip Smith,
		change of rate
South River	£6/ton	
Severn River	£6/ton	liberty
West River	£6/ton	to Joseph Adams
Severn River	£6/ton	to W ^m Hunt
West River	£6/ton	to John Hanbury, without liberty
West River	£6/ton	to Daniel Mand
South River	£6/ton	to Jonathan Scarth

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
13 Apr 1724	Darby Lux	<i>Jonathan</i>
21 Apr 1724	Phillip Wilkinson	<i>Jane</i>
21 Apr 1724	John James	<i>Speedwell</i>
30 Apr 1724	Stephen Yoakley	<i>Coeur Fidelle</i>
undated	John Sargent	<i>Dove Galley</i>
27 Jun 1724	John Jones	<i>Duke</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEED

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
23 Dec 1724	William Mudge	<i>Charles</i>
1 Jan 1724/25	Daniel Russell	<i>Forward</i>
18 Jan 1724/25	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champion</i>
21 Jan 1724/25	John Vickers	<i>Robert</i>
4 Feb 1724/25	Ambrose Cock	<i>Calvert</i>
4 Feb 1724/25	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
16 Feb 1724/25	Daniel Russell	<i>Forward</i>
17 Mar 1724/25	Benjamin Moreshead	<i>Hopewell</i>
18 Mar 1724/25	John Carpenter	<i>Severn</i>
22 Mar 1724/25	Thomas Reed	<i>Boneta</i>
22 Mar 1724/25	William Raynolds	<i>Adventure</i>
28 Apr 1725	Cheesman Peircy	<i>William and Mary</i>
31 Dec 1725	Daniel Russell	<i>Forward</i>
10 Jan 1725/26	John Jones	<i>Duke</i>
18 Jan 1725/26	Nathaniel Tanner	<i>Towns End</i>
1 Feb 1725/26	Thomas Hewitt	<i>Speedwell</i>
9 Feb 1725/26	William Mudge	<i>Charles</i>
12 Feb 1725/26	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champion</i>
16 Feb 1725/26	Philip Wilkinson	<i>Cleavland</i>
17 Feb 1725/26	Stephen Yoakley	<i>Coeur Fidel</i>
17 Feb 1725/26	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
19 Feb 1725/26	William Raynolds	<i>Adventure</i>
7 Mar 1725/26	James Aking	<i>Alexander</i>
14 Apr 1726	Benjamin Moreshead	<i>Hopewell</i>
19 Apr 1726	Thomas Reed	<i>Boneta</i>
25 Apr 1726	Archer Weaver	<i>Tower Hill</i>
9 May 1726	Ephraim Gover	<i>Rachell (Brigandine)</i>
16 May 1726	William Hinder	<i>Amity</i>
26 May 1726	Babington Cooke	<i>Henry and Jane</i>
23 Jan 1726/27	John Hadden	<i>London Town (Briganteen)</i>
25 Jan 1726/27	William Mudge	<i>Charles</i>
6 Feb 1726/27	James Aiking	<i>Alexander</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Severn River	£6/ton	liberty, change of rate
South River	£6/ton	liberty
Herring Bay	£6/ton	to Capt. John Hyde & Co.
South River	£6/ton	liberty
_____	£6/ton	liberty
South River	£6/ton	to W ^m Hunt

LIBER SY N^o 1, 1724-1728

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Herring Bay	£7/ton	
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
West River	£6/ton	to Jos. Adams
Severn River	£6/ton	to Henry Bulley
West River	£6/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£6/ton	to Phillip Smith
Severn River	£6/ton	liberty, change of rate
West River	£6/ton	liberty
Severn River	£6/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Herring Bay	£6/ton	liberty
South River	£6/ton	
off mouth of	£6/ton	to Capt. John Hyde & Co.
Severn River		
_____	£7/ton	to London, liberty
_____	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Severn River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Capt. John Hyde
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
South River	£7/ton	
Severn River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
South River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Scarth
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
West River	£7/ton	
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Capt. Ed. Hankin
Shipping Creek	£7/ton	to London
South River		
Lyons River	£7/ton	<i>Note</i>
South River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
Road River	£7/ton	liberty
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Herring Bay	£7/ton	peace, to John Hyde
	£10/ton	war
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m . Black

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
23 Mar 1726/27	John Jones	<i>Duke</i>
15 Mar 1726/27	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champain</i>
4 Apr 1727	John Baker	<i>Tower Hill Galley</i>
13 Apr 1727	Thomas Barton	<i>Adventure</i>
21 Apr 1727	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
12 Sep 1727	Andrew Dounkan	<i>William</i>
7 Feb 1727/28	William Mudge	<i>Charles</i>
7 Feb 1727/28	Benjamin Moreshead	<i>Samuel and John</i>
13 Feb 1727/28	John Shorter	<i>Hopewell</i>
13 Feb 1727/28	James Aiking	<i>Alexander</i>
15 Mar 1727/28	Thomas Hewitt	<i>Speedwell</i>
29 Mar 1728	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champion</i>
10 Apr 1728	Jn ^o Carpenter	<i>Severn</i>
13 Apr 1728	William Deane	<i>Katherine</i>
15 Apr 1728	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
19 Apr 1728	Peter Dunscombe	<i>Union</i>
20 May 1728	John Baker	<i>Tower Hill</i>
13 Jun 1728	John Cock	<i>Mary</i>
17 Jun 1728	William Reynolds	<i>Indeavor</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
23 Jan 1728/29	William Mudge	<i>Charles</i>
18 Feb 1728/29	Joseph Cowman	<i>Champion</i>
27 Feb 1728/29	William Moore	<i>Hopewell</i>
3 Mar 1728/29	Benjamin Moreshead	<i>Samuel & John</i>
12 Mar 1728/29	Nicholas Chambers	<i>Rubie</i>
15 Mar 1728/29	Daniel Russell	<i>Unitie</i>
13 Mar 1728/29	Thomas Hewitt	<i>Speedwell</i>
15 Mar 1728/29	James Ayking	<i>Alexander</i>
25 Apr 1729	W ^m Reynolds	<i>Indeavour</i>
25 Apr 1729	Peter Danscombe	<i>Union</i>
29 Apr 1729	George Uriell	<i>William</i>
8 May 1729	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
2 Jun 1729	George Hurt	<i>Hart Frigott</i>
23 Jun 1729	John West	<i>Charming Molly</i>
24 Jun 1729	Darby Lux	<i>Potapsco Merchant</i>
1 Jul 1729	Richard Williams	<i>Clapham</i>
23 Jun 1729	John Carpenter	<i>Severn</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
Shipping Creek, South River	£7/ton	to John Peele
South River	£7/ton	to John Scarth Sr & Jr
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Capt. John Hyde & Co.
South River	£7/ton	to John Peele
West River	£7/ton	to Daniel Mand & Sam ^l Hewit
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Severn River	£7/ton	to Cap ^t W ^m Torver
South River	£7/ton	to John Peele
South River	£7/ton	to Jn ^o Hanbury
South River	£7/ton	liberty

LIBER RD N^o 1, 1728-29

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
—————	£7/ton	to Capt. Jn ^o Hyde & Co
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
West River	£7/ton	to London
South River	£7/ton	to John Peele
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
South River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Scarth & Son
Severn River	£7/ton	to Capt. W ^m Torver
—————	£7/ton	or liberty
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Chesapeake Bay at mouth of South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
South River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
20 Mar 1729/30	Walter Hoxton	<i>Charles</i>
23 Mar 1729/30	James Aiking	<i>Hume</i>
14 Apr 1730	Thomas Hewitt	<i>Speedwell</i>
17 Apr 1730	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
20 Apr 1730	Daniel Russell	<i>Clapham Gally</i>
21 Apr 1730	Robert North	<i>Three Sisters</i>
29 Apr 1730	George Uriell	<i>William</i>
2 May 1730	Thomas Hewitt	<i>Speedwell</i>
4 May 1730	Richard Jones	<i>William & Jane</i>
7 May 1730	Patrick Sympson	<i>Maryland Merchant</i>
7 May 1730	William Reynolds	<i>James & Mary</i>
5 Jun 1730	William Reynolds	<i>James & Mary</i>
5 Jun 1730	Richard Jones	<i>William & Jane</i>
5 Jun 1730	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
8 Jul 1730	James Aiking	<i>Hume</i>
9 Jul 1730	Peter Dunscombe	<i>Union</i>
1 Aug 1730	George Hurte	[not named]
13 Aug 1730	Peter Dunscombe	<i>Union</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
19 Feb 1730/31	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>
13 Mar 1730/31	Dan ^l Russell	<i>Hume</i>
6 Apr 1731	Walter Hoxton	<i>Baltemore</i>
9 Apr 1731	Robert Walker	<i>Henry & Mary</i>
22 Apr 1731	William Lax	<i>Concord</i>
3 May 1731	Thomas Hewitt	<i>Deligence</i>
4 May 1731	George Uriell	<i>William</i>
10 May 1731	James Aiking	<i>Content</i>
17 May 1731	Christopher Yeoman	<i>Three Brothers</i>
22 May 1731	William Reynolds	<i>William & Katherine</i>
17 Jun 1731	Stephen Pike	<i>Arrabella</i>
7 Jul 1731	Peter Dunscombe	<i>Union</i>
6 Aug 1731	George Hurt	<i>Hart Frigott</i>
15 Nov 1731	Michael Francklin	<i>Brittania Galley</i>
21 Dec 1731	Daniel Watts	<i>Charles</i>
6 Mar 1731/32	Thomas Davidson	<i>Pataxent Galley</i>
15 Mar 1731/32	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>

LIBER T. 1. N^o 1, 1729-1730

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Capt Jn ^o Hyde & Comp ^o
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black & Henry Darnall
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black & Henry Darnall
West River	£6/ton	to Joseph Adams
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
West River	£6/ton	change of rate
South River	£7/ton	to John Peele
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty; to sail by 1 Aug.
South River	£7/ton	liberty
South River	£6/ton	change of rate
South River	£6/ton	change of rate
South River	£6/ton	change of rate
South River	£6/ton	change of rate
South River	£7/ton	liberty
_____	£6/ton	change of rate
South River	£6/ton	to Philip Smith
		change of rate
		liberty to London

LIBER I.H.T. 1. N^o 1, 1730-1733

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Capt. John Hyde & Co.
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
West River	£7/ton	liberty; to sail by June 30
South River	£7/ton	to William Hunt
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
South River	£7/ton	to John Peele
South River	£7/ton	to Jn ^o Falconar; 80 hhds.
		to Cha ^s Rogers
South River	£7/ton	to Henry Hunt or liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Torver
Chesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
South River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	to John Hyde & Comp ^a
Severn River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury; to sail by April 30
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
4 Apr 1732	Walter Hoxton	<i>Baltimore</i>
14 Apr 1732	Stephen Pike	<i>Arrabella</i>
26 Apr 1732	Thomas Hewitt	<i>Good Intent</i>
27 Apr 1732	Burden Crosby	<i>George</i>
27 Apr 1732	Dan ^l Russell	<i>Alexander</i>
1 May 1732	Alliksandor Curling	<i>Alexr</i>
9 May 1732	Samuel Rush	<i>Concord</i>
9 May 1732	Robert Walker	<i>John</i>
16 May 1732	William Reynolds	<i>John & Benjamin</i>
6 Jun 1732	Peter Dunscombe	<i>Union</i>
27 Jun 1732	Darby Lux	<i>Patapsco Merchant</i>
31 Jun 1732	George Uriell	<i>William</i>
3 Mar 1732/33	Luther Gill	[not named]
9 Mar 1732/33	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>
14 Mar 1732/33	Stephen Pike	<i>Arabella</i>
28 Apr 1733	Ambrose Judd	<i>Fanny</i>
2 May 1733	Walter Hoxton	<i>Baltimore</i>
11 May 1733	Dan ^l Russell	<i>Alaxander</i>
18 May 1733	Ambrose Cock	<i>Monmouth</i>
19 May 1733	Benjamin Moorshead	<i>Banjamine</i>
21 May 1733	Samuel Rush	<i>Concord</i>
13 June 1733	John Keet	<i>Brooke</i>
30 Aug 1733	John Curling	<i>Fordsgreen</i>
31 Oct 1733	Henry Ayton	<i>Dilligence</i>
17 Nov 1733	George Uriel	<i>William</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS,

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
27 Dec 1733	Thomas Blackstone	<i>Annapolis Adventure</i>
13 Mar 1733/34	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>
9 Apr 1734	Robert Truwhitt	<i>Content</i>
13 Apr 1734	John Carpenter	<i>Duke</i>
16 Apr 1734	Thomas Davidson	<i>Adventure</i>
7 May 1734	John Chambers	<i>Tankervill</i>
10 June 1734	Dan ^l Russell	<i>Alexander</i>
15 May 1734	Walter Hoxton	<i>Baltimore</i>
21 May 1734	Walter Hoxton	<i>Baltimore</i>
22 May 1734	William Hanton	<i>William & Sarah</i>
1 June 1734	Samuel Browne	<i>Phenix</i>
18 Jul 1734	Samuel Rush	<i>Concord</i>
23 Aug 1734	Thomas Reed	<i>Bush River Merchant</i>
19 Mar 1734/35	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>
7 Apr 1735	James Hall	<i>Hume</i>
3 May 1735	Elisha Stringfellow	<i>Virtuous Grace</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Capt ^t John Hyde & Comp ^a
South River	£7/ton	to London
West River	£7/ton	freighters consigning to him
South River	£7/ton	to John Peele
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
South River	£7/ton	to Charles Rogers
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£7/ton	to John Falconar
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Torver or liberty
	£7/ton	to Jonathan Forward
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
South River	£7/ton	to John Peele
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m or Henry Hunt
South River	£7/ton	to Charles Rogers
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Samuel Hyde
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m or Henry Hunt
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
West River	£7/ton	to Capt ^t Thomas Hewitt
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black or liberty
Patapsco River	£7/ton	liberty
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt

LIBER R.D. No 2, 1733-1737

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£7/ton	liberty
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams, <i>Note</i>
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt, <i>Note</i>
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury, <i>Note</i>
Patapsco River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black, <i>Note</i>
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Samuel Hide, <i>Note</i>
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Smauel Hyde, <i>Note</i>
South River	£7/ton	to Charles Rogers, <i>Note</i>
South River	£7/ton	to John Peele, <i>Note</i>
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
14 May 1735	Ambrose Judd	<i>Betty</i>
14 May 1735	George Uriell	<i>William</i>
19 May 1735	Dan ^l Russell	<i>Alexander</i>
21 May 1735	Samuel Rush	<i>Concord</i>
18 Jun 1735	Dan ^l Watts	<i>Baltimore</i>
19 Jun 1735	John Chambers	<i>Prosperous Anne</i>
1 Jul 1735	Henry Ayton	<i>Diligence</i>
12 Jul 1735	John Carpenter	<i>Duke</i>
15 Aug 1735	Samuel Gray	<i>Bush River Merchant</i>
1 Oct 1735	William Reynolds	<i>Sea Nimph</i>
30 Oct 1735	Alex ^r Scougal	<i>Frederick</i>
30 Oct 1735	Anthony Beck	<i>Snow London Town</i>
12 Apr 1736	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>
10 Apr 1736	Ambrose Cock	<i>Monmouth</i>
13 Apr 1736	Ambrose Judd	<i>Betty</i>
16 Apr 1736	James Hall	<i>Hume</i>
6 May 1736	Sam ^l Rush	<i>Concord</i>
21 May 1736	Daniel Watts	<i>Baltimore</i>
24 May 1736	John Chambers	<i>Milner</i>
24 May 1736	Daniel Russell	<i>Alexander</i>
28 May 1736	John Carpenter	<i>Duke</i>
11 Jun 1736	George Uriell	<i>William</i>
30 Jun 1736	Michael Wilson	<i>Nathaniel</i>
1 Jul 1736	Joseph Penhallow	<i>Patridge</i>
7 Mar 1736/37	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>
8 Mar 1736/37	John Ellis	<i>Salley</i>
6 Apr 1737	Daniel Watts	<i>Baltimore</i>
15 Apr 1737	John Dixon	<i>Charming Suckey</i>
16 Apr 1737	Ambrose Judd	<i>Ramsgate Frigatt</i>
29 Apr 1737	Joseph Penhallow	<i>Patridge</i>
6 May 1737	John Cambers	<i>Milner</i>
18 May 1737	James Hall	<i>Hume</i>
1 Jun 1737	John West	<i>Ruby</i>
1 Jun 1737	Daniel Russell	<i>Alexander</i>
2 Jun 1737	George Uriell	<i>William</i>
2 Jun 1737	Andrew Senhouse	<i>Phenix</i>
21 Jun 1737	John Carpenter	<i>Duke</i>
26 Aug 1737	John Stephens	<i>Europa</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£7/ton	to Charles Rogers
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde
Chesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to Isaac Milner;
Patapsco River		100 hhds. to W ^m Turner
Patapsco River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt or H. Hunt & Sam ^l White
Chesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Patapsco River		
Chesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to Desmith & Heathcote;
Patapsco River		to London or Cows
South River	£6 10s./ton	to Samuel Hyde
South River	£7/ton	liberty to London
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£7/ton	to Charles Rogers
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
South River	£7/ton	to Philip Smith
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to Isaac Milner
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt or H. Hunt & Sam ^l White
Chesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt or H. Hunt & Sam ^l White
Patapsco River		
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to Desmith & Heathcoat
Severn River,	£7/ton	to W ^m Torver
Patapsco River		
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
Herring Bay	£7/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde
South River	£7/ton	to Isaac Milner
South River	£7/ton	to Charles Rogers
Chesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to W ^m Torver
Patapsco River		
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to Isaac Milner
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
_____	£7/ton	to Philip & Martin Smith
_____	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Bush River,	£7/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde
Baltimore County		
Severn River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt
South River	£7/ton	liberty to London

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
27 Mar 1738	James Hall	<i>South River</i>
1 Apr 1738	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>
7 Apr 1738	Ambrose Judd	<i>Hatley</i>
7 Apr 1738	John West	<i>Ruby</i>
11 Apr 1738	Daniel Watts	<i>Expedition</i>
12 Apr 1738	John Dixon	<i>Ann & Catherine</i>
23 May 1738	Joseph Penhallow	<i>Partridge</i>
29 May 1738	John Carpenter	<i>Duke</i>
4 Jun 1738	John Chambers	<i>Milner</i>
19 Sep 1738	Richard Williams	<i>Pointz Galley</i>
29 Dec 1738	Darby Lux	<i>Genoa Galley</i>
30 Mar 1739	Stephen Sandwell	<i>Occasion</i>
18 Apr 1739	Ambrose Judd	<i>South End</i>
19 Apr 1739	John Ellis	<i>Cato</i>
23 Apr 1739	John Dixon	<i>Tottenham</i>
23 Apr 1739	Christopher Grindall	<i>Three Sisters</i>
2 May 1739	James Hall	<i>South River</i>
7 May 1739	Daniel Watts	<i>Baltimore</i>
4 May 1739	John West	<i>Ruby</i>
1 Jun 1739	Joseph Penhallow	<i>Partridge</i>
20 Jun 1739	John Carpenter	<i>Duke</i>
3 Jul 1739	Charles Gloyne	<i>William</i>
15 May 1740	Daniel Moody	<i>Charming Salley</i>
15 Jul 1740	Philip Allingham	<i>Baltimore</i>
17 Jul 1740	John Dixon	<i>Sea Flower</i>
26 Jul 1740	Thomas Preston	<i>Success</i>
16 Aug 1740	Philip Allingham	<i>Baltimore</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
26 Aug 1740	Thomas Blackstone	<i>Catherine</i>
2 Sep 1740	Samuel Gray	<i>Prospect</i>
9 Sep 1740	Ambrose Cock	<i>Concord</i>
28 Nov 1740	George Tickner	<i>Gold</i>
13 Dec 1740	John Carpenter	<i>Duke</i>
17 Apr 1741	James Hall	<i>South River Merchant</i>
10 Jun 1741	Jerningham Bigg	<i>Baltimore</i>

LIBER R.D. N^o 3, 1737-1739

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
outh River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
West River	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
outh River	£7/ton	to Charles Rogers
_____	£7/ton	to Philip & Martin Smith
lerring Bay	£7/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde
outh River	£7/ton	to Isaac Milner
atapsco River	£7/ton	to W ^m Torver
evern River	£7/ton	to W ^m or H. Hunt & Co.
atapsco River	£7/ton	to Isaac Milner
atuxent River	£6/ton	liberty to London
evern River	£7/ton	to Jonathan Forward
outh River	£7/ton	to Philip & Martin Smith
outh River	£7/ton	to Charles Rogers
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
outh River	£7/ton	to Isaac Milner
_____	£7/ton	to Joseph Adams
outh River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black
lerring Bay	£7/ton	to Samuel Hyde
_____	£7/ton	to Philip & Martin Smith
atapsco River	£7/ton	to W ^m Torver
evern River	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt or Sam ^l White
hesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to W ^m Hunt or Sam ^l White,
atapsco River		<i>Note</i>
West River	£9/ton	to John Hanbury
lerring Bay	£10/ton	to Samuel Hyde;
	£9/ton	if convoyed
outh River	£10/ton	to Isaac Milner;
	£9/ton	if majority do
atapsco River	£9/ton	to Jonathan Forward
atapsco River	£9/ton	change of anchorage & rate

LIBER R.B. N^o 1, 1740-1744

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
outh River	£9/ton	to Philip & Martin Smith
atapsco River	£9/ton	to Charles Rogers
atapsco River	£9/ton	to John Hanbury or
		Andrew Reid
West River	£9/ton	to Joseph Adams
evern River	£10/ton	to W ^m Hunt;
	£9/ton	if convoyed, if others do
outh River	£9/ton	to W ^m Black
lerring Bay	£9/ton	to Samuel Hyde

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
15 Jun 1741	Anthony Bacon	<i>York Galley</i>
18 Jun 1741	James Steuart	<i>Walter Galley</i>
18 Jun 1741	Nathaniel Sears	<i>Hibernia</i>
31 Jul 1741	Richard Gill	<i>Carolina</i>
9 Sep 1741	John Ellis	<i>Mary</i>
14 Oct 1741	William Long	<i>Ansley</i>
15 Oct 1741	Daniel Russell	<i>London</i>
13 Apr 1742	James Hall	<i>South River Merchant</i>
14 May 1742	James Patison.	<i>Crawford</i>
20 May 1742	John Hunter	<i>Ursilla</i>
1 Jun 1742	Robert Cordiner	<i>Good Intention</i>
2 Jun 1742	Alexander Inghlish	<i>Expedition</i>
10 Jun 1742	Charles Alden	<i>Richard & Sarah</i>
15 Jun 1742	Jerningham Bigg	<i>Baltimore</i>
26 Jun 1742	Ambrose Judd	<i>South end</i>
9 Jul 1742	Charles Gloyne	<i>Duke</i>
9 Jul 1742	John Ellis	<i>Mary</i>
16 Aug 1742	John Dixon	<i>Milner</i>
14 Apr 1743	James Hall	<i>South River Merchant</i>
21 Apr 1743	Thomas Story	<i>York</i>
3 May 1743	John West	<i>Panelepe</i>
18 Jul 1743	Charles Alden	<i>Richard & Sarah</i>
8 Aug 1743	Jerningham Biggs	<i>Baltimore</i>
9 Aug 1743	Charles Gloyne	<i>William</i>
20 Oct 1743	Edward Bartholomew	<i>Neptune</i>
12 Jan 1743/44	Edward Bartholomew	<i>Neptune</i>
28 Apr 1744	John Hunter	<i>Essex</i>
26 Jun 1744	James Hall	<i>South River Merchant</i>
6 Jul 1744	John Fraser	<i>Concord</i>
6 Jul 1744	David Fraser	<i>Elizabeth</i>
7 Sep 1744	Jacob Hales	<i>Ann</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEED

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
14 Nov 1744	Daniel Russell	<i>Alexander</i>
14 Nov 1744	Samuel Wood	<i>William</i>
20 Nov 1744	Jerningham Bigg	<i>Baltimore</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£9/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£9/ton	to Isaac Milner
Elk River,	£8/ton	delivered
Patapsco River	£9/ton	fetches, libery
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to Taillor Higginson
Chesapeake Bay	£9/ton	to John Hanbury
Severn River		
West River	£9/ton	to Joseph Adams
South River	£9/ton	to W ^m Black
South River	£9/ton	to W ^m Black
West River	£9/ton	to Jos. Adams
West River	£9/ton	to J ⁿ Hanbury
South River	£9/ton	to Isaac Milner
Chesapeake Bay	£9/ton	to Alex. Black & David
Patapsco River		Grahame, <i>Note</i>
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to Isaac Milner
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde
South River	£9/ton	to Charles Rogers
Chesapeake Bay	£9/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Patapsco River		
Severn River	£9/ton	to J ⁿ Hanbury
South River	£9/ton	to Isaacs Milner
South River	£9/ton	to W ^m Black
West River	£9/ton	to J ⁿ Hanbury
Herring Bay	£9/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde
Patapsco River	£9/ton	liberty
Chesapeake Bay	£9/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde
Patapsco River		
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to W ^m Torver & Isaac Milner
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to W ^m Torver
West River	£9/ton	to J ⁿ Hanbury
South River	£9/ton	to W ^m Black
South River	£9/ton	to Godfrey Milner
Chesapeake Bay	£9/ton	to J ^{os} Adams
Patapsco River		
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to J ⁿ Hanbury

LIBER R.B. #2, 1744-47

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Chesapeake Bay	£12/ton	to W ^m Black
Patapsco River		
Patapsco River	£12/ton	to W ^m Hunt
Herring Bay	£12/ton	to Sam ^l Hyde, <i>Note</i>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
17 May 1745	Archibald Johnson	<i>Sea Nymph Brigantine</i>
10 Jun 1745	Thomas Storey	<i>Humber</i>
13 Jun 1745	John Mackenzie	<i>Elizabeth</i>
18 Jun 1745	Gerrard Robinson	<i>Snow Cumberland</i>
5 Jul 1745	John Mackenzie	<i>Elizabeth</i>
6 Jul 1745	John Ellis	<i>Essex</i>
17 Aug 1745	Richard Blackstone	<i>Sloop Two Brothers</i>
27 Aug 1745	David Levingston	<i>Three Friends</i>
23 Sep 1745	James Hall	<i>Fredrick</i>
23 Sep 1745	Isaac Sayers	<i>Snow Resolution</i>
23 Sep 1745	Ambrose Judd	<i>Hopewell</i>
23 Sep 1745	James Murrey	<i>Friendship</i>
22 Apr 1746	Thomas Preston	<i>Richmond</i>
4 Aug 1746	John Dare	<i>Neptune</i>
20 Oct 1746	John Gunston	<i>Matilda</i>
12 Nov 1746	John Hutchinson	<i>Britania</i>
31 Jan 1746/47	William Strachan	<i>Rumney and Long</i>
21 Mar 1746/47	Charles Hargrave	<i>Mercury</i>
21 Mar 1746/47	James Creagh	<i>Speedwell</i>
25 Mar 1747	Samuel Wood	<i>William</i>
25 Mar 1747	Adam Spencer	<i>Spencer Frygot</i>
13 Apr 1747	Anthony Beck	<i>Snow Francis & Elizabeth</i>
30 May 1747	Alexander Scougall	<i>Brigantine Annapolis</i>
4 Sep 1747	James Barrett	<i>Bridge-Town</i>
11 Sep 1747	Robert Young	<i>Domville</i>
25 Sep 1747	John Twynihoe	<i>Hambleton</i>
7 Oct 1747	John Fearon	<i>Marshall Galley</i>
21 Oct 1747	Edward Ogle	<i>Snow Thomas</i>
3 Nov 1747	Ambrose Judd	<i>Delight</i>
13 Nov 1747	Joseph Gibson	<i>Unity</i>
23 Nov 1747	Thomas Lanskil	<i>Mary</i>
23 Feb 1747/48	Thomas Cornish	<i>Winchelsea</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£12/ton	to James Dick
Chesapeake Bay	£13/ton	to John Hanbury
Patapsco River		
Severn River	£13/ton	to W ^m Black
West River,	£13/ton	to Jos Adams, <i>Note</i>
Patapsco River		
Severn River	£12/ton	change of rate
Chesapeake Bay	£13/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury
Patapsco River		
Patapsco River	£13/ton	to Sutcliffe & Bowen
Patapsco River	£12/ton	to Williams & Rockliff
South River	£12/ton	to W ^m Black
South River	£12/ton	to Bryan Philpot
South River	£12/ton	to W ^m Perkins
Patapsco River	£12/ton	to W ^m Perkins
Patapsco River	£13/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury
South River	£13/ton	to Torver & Bryan Philpot
Severn River,	£14/ton	to W ^m Perkins
South River		
—	£14/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury
Severn River,	£13/ton	delivered, to J ^{no} Buchanan
Putuxent River	£14/ton	fetches, <i>Note</i>
Severn River	£14/ton	delivered, to Williams & Rockliffe
	£15/ton	fetches
Severn River,	£16/ton	to J ^{no} Philpot & Co.
Patapsco River		
Patapsco River	£16/ton	to W ^m Hunt Sr & Jr, <i>Note</i>
South River	£16/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury
Severn River	£16/ton	to J ^{no} Philpot & Co.
Severn River	£16/ton	to J ^{no} Philpot & Co.
South River	£16/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury
Patapsco River	£16/ton	to Jos Adams
South River	£16/ton	to W ^m Perkins
South River	£16/ton	to W ^m Black
Severn River	£16/ton	to Williams & Rockliffe
Chesapeake Bay	£16/ton	to W ^m Black
Patapsco River		
West River	£16/ton	to Jos Adams
South River	£16/ton	to Torver & Philpot
Severn River	£16/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury

ANNE ARUNDEL DEEDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
5 Apr 1748	Isaac Johns	<i>Peggy and Nancy</i>
30 Jun 1748	Samuel Wood	<i>William</i>
1 Oct 1748	Elias Le Gros	<i>Winchester</i>
10 Oct 1748	William Manby	<i>Triumphant</i>
13 Oct 1748	Charles Philips	<i>Industry</i>
19 Oct 1748	Stephen Hooper	<i>Ranger</i>
21 Apr 1749	James Hall	<i>Betsey</i>
18 May 1749	Ambrose Judd	<i>Neptune</i>
8 Jun 1749	James Wood	<i>Virginian</i>
10 Jun 1749	Thomas Hooper	<i>Friends Supply</i>
15 Jun 1749	Anthony Marshall	<i>Friendship</i>
15 Jun 1749	Isaac Johns	<i>Peggy & Nancy</i>
20 Jun 1749	Samuel Wood	<i>William</i>
21 Jun 1749	Jerningham Bigg	<i>Neptune</i>
27 Jun 1749	Edward Bentley	<i>Virginian</i>
1 Feb 1749/50	James Creagh	<i>Speedwell</i>
16 Mar 1749/50	Nathaniel Chew	<i>Baltimore</i>
7 Jun 1750	James Hall	<i>Betsey</i>
9 Jun 1750	Isaac Johns	<i>Peggy and Nancy</i>
2 Jul 1750	Alexander Cumming	<i>Snow Experiment</i>
3 Jul 1750	Jerningham Bigg	<i>Neptune</i>
5 Nov 1750	Ambrose Judd	<i>Neptune</i>
24 May 1751	Jerningan Biggs	<i>Neptune</i>
24 May 1751	James Dobbins	<i>Thames Frigate</i>
24 May 1751	George Bell	<i>Snowden</i>
4 Jun 1751	Isaac Johns	<i>Peggy and Nancy</i>
14 Jun 1751	James Hall	<i>Betsey</i>
6 Jul 1751	James Creagh	<i>Charming Molly</i>
20 Sep 1751	George Bell	<i>Brigantine Grove</i>
17 Apr 1752	Jernegan Bigg	<i>Neptune</i>
28 Apr 1752	John White	<i>Snow Russell</i>
29 Apr 1752	Dennis Dulany	<i>Snow Swift</i>
18 May 1752	James Hall	<i>Alexander</i>
21 May 1752	Ambrose Judd	<i>Neptune</i>
22 Jun 1752	John Colshare	<i>Brigantine Chapman</i>

LIBER R.B. #3, 1747-1754

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
outh River	£16/ton	to Torver & Philpot
atapsco River	£12/ton	to William Hunt
evern River	£8/ton	to William Black
atapsco River	£8/ton	to Joseph Adams
atapsco River	£8/ton	to William Perkins
outh River	£8/ton	to John Hanbury
utuxent River,	£7/ton	to John Buchanan
outh River		
evern River	£7/ton	to William Black
atapsco River	£7/ton	to Flowerdewe & Norton
outh River	£7/ton	to William Perkins
evern River	£7/ton	to Peter Fearon
outh River	£7/ton	to Torver & Philpot
atapsco River	£7/ton	to William Hunt
hesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to Humphrey Adams
atapsco River		
atapsco River	£7/ton	to Flowerdewe & Norton
in the Dock at the	£7/ton	liberty
ity of Annapolis "		
atapsco River	£7/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury & Co.
outh River	£7/ton	to J ^{no} Buchanan
outh River	£7/ton	to Torver and Philpot
atapsco River	£7/ton	to Mess ^{rs} Hunt & Greenleaf
atapsco River	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove
evern River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black or Flowerdewe & Norton
hesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove
atapsco River		
evern River,	£7/ton	to Stewart & Armour
atapsco River		
	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove
outh River	£7/ton	to Torver & Philpot
outh River	£7/ton	to J ^{no} Buchanan
evern River	£7/ton	to Peter Fearon
utuxent River	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove
hesapeake Bay	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove, <i>Note</i>
atapsco River		
outh River	£7/ton	to J ^{no} Buchanan
evern River	£7/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury & Co.
outh River	£7/ton	to J ^{no} Buchanan
outh River	£7/ton	to W ^m Black & Flowerdewe & Norton
outh River	£7/ton	to W ^m Perkins

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
[Aug 1752]	Isaac Johns	<i>Peggy and Nancy</i>
27 Mar 1753	Robert Wilson	<i>Brigantine Grove</i>
18 Apr 1753	Jehosephat Rawlings	<i>Swift</i>
24 Apr 1753	John White	<i>Eagle Galley</i>
15 May 1753	Samuel Wood	<i>Industry</i>
25 May 1753	Jernegan Bigg	<i>Neptune</i>
1 Jun 1753	John Sedgwick	<i>Generous Friend</i>
21 Jun 1753	James Hall	<i>Buchanan</i>
28 Jun 1753	Thomas Hooper	<i>Owners Supply</i>
18 Aug 1753	John Sellers	<i>Binks</i>
21 Aug. 1753	James Creagh	<i>Hanbury</i>
1 Sep 1753	Jacob Waters	<i>Brigantine Charles</i>
20 Jan 1754	James Creagh	<i>Hanbury</i>
23 Feb 1754	Jehosephat Rawlings	<i>Swift</i>
17 Apr 1754	John White	<i>Betsey</i>
24 May 1754	James Howell	<i>Beaumont</i>
14 Jun 1754	John Dare	<i>Brigantine Chapman</i>
27 Jun 1754	Jernegan Bigg	<i>Neptune</i>
3 Jul 1754	James Hall	<i>Buchanan</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEED

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
28 Apr 1755	Jehosephat Rawlings	<i>Severn</i>
28 Apr 1755	James Holland	<i>Unity (Snow)</i>
30 Apr 1755	Robert Wilson	<i>Baltimore (Snow)</i>
24 May 1755	John White	<i>Betsey</i>
23 Jun 1755	James Hall	<i>Buchanan</i>
26 Jun 1755	John Dare	<i>Providence</i>
9 Jul 1755	Patrick Creagh	<i>Endeavour (Snow)</i>
29 Aug 1755	Nathaniel Chew	<i>Mermaid</i>
30 Jun 1756	Alexander Stewart	<i>Greyhound</i>
30 Jun 1756	John Brown	<i>Salley Brown</i>
2 Jul 1756	Jehosephat Rawlings	<i>Severn</i>
3 Jul 1756	John White	<i>Betsey</i>
25 Sep 1756	James Dyer	<i>Lyon</i>

ANNE ARUNDEL DEED

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
7 Jun 1757	John Johnston	<i>Salley</i>
24 Jun 1757	William Mills	<i>Tryall</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£7/ton	to Torver & Philpot
West River	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove
Severn River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury & Co.
South River	£7/ton	to John Buchanan
Patapsco River	£6/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury or liberty
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove
South River	£7/ton	to Torver & Philpot
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to J ^{no} Buchanan
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to Flowerdewe & Norton
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Perkins
"... in the Dock of the City of Annapolis"	£7/ton	to J ^{no} Hanbury
Patapsco River	£7/ton	liberty
Severn River	£7/ton	liberty
West River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£7/ton	to John Buchanan
South River	£7/ton	to Brian Philpot
South River	£7/ton	to W ^m Perkins
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove
South River	£7/ton	to John Buchanan

LIBER B.B. #1, 1754-1757

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Severn River	£7/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£7/ton	to Brian Philpot
West River	£7/ton	to Silvanus Grove
South River	£7/ton	to John Buchanan
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to John Buchanan
South River	£7/ton	to William Perkins
Patapsco River	£7/ton	to Tho ^s Flowerdewe & Norton or liberty
Patapsco River	£5/ton	liberty
Patapsco River	£8 10s./ton	to Stewart & Armour, <i>Note</i>
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to John Buchanan, <i>Note</i>
Patapsco River	£9/ton	to John Hanbury
South River	£8 10s./ton	to John Buchanan
Ferry Branch, Patapsco River	£10/ton	to John Stewart & Co., <i>Note</i>

LIBER B.B. #2, 1757-1763

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
Patapsco River	£13/ton	to John Buchanan
Patapsco River	£14/ton	to John Stewart, <i>Note</i>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Ship</i>
30 Jun 1757	David Lewis	<i>Robt & Ann</i> (Snow)
30 Jun 1757	John White	<i>Betsy</i>
27 Oct 1757	Alexander Cumming	<i>Two Brothers</i> (Brigantine)
26 Apr 1758	Matthew Spencer	<i>Tryton</i> (Snow)
22 Jun 1758	James Hall	<i>Hero</i>
22 Jun 1758	Harbet Hanson	<i>Fishburn</i>
26 Jun 1758	William Strachan	<i>Betsey</i>
26 Jun 1758	David Lewis	<i>Robert and Ann</i> (Snow)
23 Jul 1759	John Johnston	<i>Tryton</i>
20 Jul 1759	John Parker	<i>St George</i>
24 Jul 1759	William Strachan	<i>Betsey</i>
24 Jul 1759	David Lewis	<i>John & Jane</i> (Brigantine)
22 Dec 1759	John Clarkson	<i>Jacob and Johanna</i>
23 Jun 1760	Robert Lee	<i>Lyon</i>
7 Jul 1760	David Lewis	<i>Susannah & Sarah</i>
14 Jul 1760	William Strachan	<i>Betsey</i>
22 Sep 1760	James Hanrick	<i>Dragon</i>
9 Jul 1761	James Cole	<i>Princess Caroline</i>
22 Jul 1761	James Stewart	<i>Neptune</i>
22 Jul 1761	Joseph Chilton	<i>Polly</i>
17 Aug 1762	David Kinlock	<i>Prince William</i>
3 Sep 1762	Thomas Kell	<i>Polly</i>
10 Oct 1762	Benjamin Sutfield	<i>Dove</i>

<i>Anchorage</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Details</i>
South River	£13/ton	to Brian Philpot
South River	£13/ton	to John Buchanan
Annapolis	£14/ton	to Abr ^a Wayne, Bristol
Patapsco River	£12/ton	to John Buchanan
Patapsco River	£12/ton	to John Buchanan
	£12/ton	to Silvanus Grove
South River	£12/ton	to John Buchanan
South River	£12/ton	to Bryan Philpot
Patapsco River	£12/ton	to John Buchanan
N. W. Branch	£12/ton	to Sydenham & Hodgson
Patapsco River		
South River	£12/ton	to John Buchanan
South River	£12/ton	to Thomas Philpot
Severn River	£12/ton	liberty
Patapsco River	£12/ton	to John Buchanan
South River	£12/ton	to Thomas Philpot
South River	£12/ton	to John Buchanan
Annapolis	£12/ton	to Silvanus Grove
South River	£12/ton	to Sydenham & Hodgson
Severn River	£10/ton	to Thomas Philpot
South River	£10/ton	to Thomas Philpot
South River	" Current Freight "	to John Buchanan
Patapsco River	£13/ton	to " Sundries "
Severn River	£11/ton	to John Buchanan

II. FORT McHENRY: 1814

THE OUT WORKS IN 1814

By S. SYDNEY BRADFORD

MANY historic sites have been changed in varying degrees before they have become treasured possessions of the people. Such is the case with Fort McHenry, where frequent alterations have made it almost impossible for a visitor to visualize the fortifications that existed during the War of 1812. A traveller finds it especially difficult to comprehend the nature and extent of the out works because they have entirely disappeared, and he may mistake an existing battery for an 1814 battery.¹ It is hoped that this account of the early exterior works will help to eliminate errors concerning them.

1

FORT WHETSTONE

Baltimore and the State jointly built the original fortifications at Whetstone Point because of the outbreak of the American Revolution. Near the end of January, 1776 the revolutionary State Convention resolved that Baltimore should be fortified, and the local county committee authorized the creation of a plan of defense. Shortly thereafter members of the Council of Safety rode to Whetstone Point in order to inspect it as a possible site for fortifications. Probably, being most impressed by the Point's strategic location, the Council appropriated £6,000 (Maryland)

¹ In May, 1831 it was stated that "some temporary Batteries that were thrown up during the last war" had been levelled. Capt. J. W. Ripley to Gen. T. S. Jesup, May 26, 1831, Consolidated Correspondence File, Office of the Quartermaster General, N. A., R. G. 92 hereafter C. C. F. Extensive archaeological excavations at Ft. McHenry in 1958 failed to discover any remains of the 1814 batteries. G. H. Smith, "Archaeological Explorations at Fort McHenry, 1958," (unpublished report for Ft. McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, 1958, Baltimore, Md.).

The present exterior battery, excepting certain later changes, dates from 1836-39. H. A. Thompson to Capt. [Smith], Mar. 2, 1840. Letters Received, Office of the Chief of Engineers, N. A., R. G. 77, hereafter O. C. E.



Figure 1. Fort Whetstone, 1781. From Louis-Alexandre Berthier's map of Baltimore.

Courtesy of the Princeton University Library.



for fortifying it and blocking the entrance to the harbor, a move upon which the Baltimore County Committee hastily agreed.²

Samuel Purviance and several other citizens of Baltimore assumed the responsibility for erecting the fortifications, and they quickly started work at the sparsely inhabited tip of Whetstone Point. There, they soon had under construction an earthen fort, an upper and lower battery, and a boom laid in the channel between Whetstone and Gorsuch's Points. Purviance and his cohorts had called upon a local school master, James Allcock, rather than a professional soldier to design the works.³ The batteries were placed northeast of the dirt fort, which was to protect against a land attack, and by February 17 the builders hoped that a few cannon could be mounted. In the succeeding weeks the committee intensified its efforts to complete the fortifications, especially after the *Otter* unexpectedly appeared in the Chesapeake Bay on March 5 and spread consternation throughout eastern Maryland. Baltimoreans saw themselves in immediate danger and by March 16 eighteen guns were in the fortifications. However, the *Otter* did not venture close enough to the city to try the accuracy of Fort Whetstone's cannon. By July 4, 1776, there were thirty-eight guns at the Fort, and it was later reported—readied to hurl “red thunderbolts of war” at any British man-of-war daring to approach the state's paramount city.⁴

Fort Whetstone is shown on several early maps of Baltimore, one of which was drawn by a French officer as he passed

² Council of Safety to the Deputies for Maryland in Congress, Jan. 20, 1776, *Archives of Maryland* (67 vol.; Baltimore, 1883-1956), XI, 101, 120, hereafter *Arch. Md.*; Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention, Jan. 29, 1776, *ibid.*, 120; Journal of the Council of Safety, Feb. 2, 1776, *ibid.*, 133; Resolution of the Council of Safety, Feb. 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 136-37. Also, Resolutions of the Baltimore County Committee, Jan. 29 and Feb. 5, 1776, Peter Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series (9 vol.; Washington, 1837-53), IV 1738-39, hereafter *Amer. Arch.*

³ Resolution of the Baltimore County Committee, Feb. 5, 1776, *Amer. Arch.*, IV, 4th Series, 1739; [Barrister] Charles Carroll to the Maryland Council of Safety, July 27, 1776, *Arch. Md.*, XII, 130-31.

A Colonel Ware is also spoken of as having drawn “a plan of fortification to be added to the works at *Whetstone Point*,” but it is not known what the plan was for, or if the scheme was carried out. Baltimore Committee to the Maryland Council of Safety, July 7, 1776, *Amer. Arch.*, 5 Series, I, 101.

⁴ Samuel Purviance to the Maryland Council of Safety, Feb. 17, 1776, *Arch. Md.*, XI, 167; Baltimore County Committee to the Maryland Council of Safety, [Mar. 10, 1776], *ibid.*, 227-28; Nathaniel Smith to [?] Jenifer, July 4, 1776, *ibid.*, 549; Baltimore County Committee to the Maryland Council of Safety, Mar. 16, 1776, *Amer. Arch.*, 4 Series, V, 243-44; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Mar. 14, 1776; *Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore), Mar. 12, 19, 1776, Sept. 9, 1777.

through the port towards Yorktown in 1781 (Figure 1). They show the lower battery to be northeast of the Fort and very close to the channel, and their alignment of the work agrees very well with the battery's outline in 1814. The maps place the upper battery on higher ground in back of the lower work, and it is apparent that this element of the out works had undergone a fundamental change in design by the time of the bombardment of 1814.⁵ The embrasures of both batteries swept the channel and also pointed down the Patapsco River. The lower battery had a complement of eleven and the upper work of fourteen cannon.

The officers apparently left the cannon at the Fort when it was deserted during the Confederation Period. By April, 1794 the lower battery had four twelve-pounders, five eighteen-pounders and one four or six-pounder and was very close to the river which had washed away part of its parapet, and two of the twelve-pounders had tumbled into the channel. The upper battery had eight nine and six eighteen-pounders. The twelve-pounders and smaller cannon were mounted on field carriages, but it is not known how the eighteen-pounders were mounted. The builders of the works also provided the cannoneers with an air furnace in which shot could be warmed.⁶

It was obvious to the citizen-defenders of Baltimore, in 1776, that the channel in front of the Fort had to be blocked. Therefore laborers began work on a boom in February, and by the middle of the month, two hundred of them were preparing timber, doing ironwork and performing other tasks for it. But because of the fear created by the sudden appearance of the *Otter* in early March, Purviance and his group sank several ships in the passage to block it until the boom was completed. As weeks passed, the

⁵ "Rade et Port de Baltimore," Sept. 12-15, 1781, Louis-Alexandre Berthier, Berthier Papers, #16(18), Princeton University Library, Princeton, N. J.; Map Number 13, Rochambeau Collection, 1779-1780 (?), Library of Congress; "Plan of the Town of Baltimore and Its Environs," A. P. Folie, 1792, Cator Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md.

⁶ Purviance to Council of Safety, Feb. 17, 1776, *Arch. Md.*, XI, 167; *Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore), Mar. 9, 1777; George P. Keepports to His Excellency Thomas S. Lee, Apr. 7, 1791, Executive Papers, 1794, Council Proceedings, Letters from and to Council . . . , Maryland Hall of Records. Also, John Jacob Ulrich Rivardi to Secretary of War, Apr. 13, 1794, *American State Papers* (38 vol.; Washington, 1832-61), XVI, 88-89, hereafter *A. S. P.*; Rivardi to Lee, Apr. 13, 1794, in "Plan of Fort McHenry," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VIII (June, 1913), 286-90. Hereafter, these two Rivardi letters will be cited as R. to S. and R. to L.

workers progressed on the boom, and by May 6 it extended across the channel. It consisted of a chain probably supported by masts laid end to end and bolted together, as was done in 1813; and two piers near the lower battery provided for an opening. With the virtual closing of the channel, seamen raised and removed the hulks.⁷

Those in charge of the fortifications also erected several buildings to house or otherwise serve the garrison, although information about these structures is scanty. By the summer of 1776, Maryland had stationed about a hundred troops at the Point, and thus there was probably more than one barrack, as the visit of a Dr. Bond to the Fort in November, 1779 in order "to view them [the barracks]" for possible use by the French also indicates.⁸ The style and interior arrangement of the buildings remain a mystery, except that there is reference to the "lowness" of one of them. As a gesture of comradeship to our French allies, the State authorized the construction of temporary housing for French soldiers in September, 1782, but it does not appear that such housing was built. The only extant clue concerning officers' quarters is a reference to the officers' "Room," which implies that the commissioned personnel had merely a room in a building, not a barrack for themselves. A guardhouse existed, of course, for the citizen-soldier who never felt he was less a citizen for being a soldier.⁹

Captain Nathaniel Smith, who commanded the Fort after the works had been completed, contemplated several additional structures from time to time. In the spring of 1776, he requested a

⁷ Purviance to Council of Safety, Feb. 17, 1776, *Arch. Md.*, XI, 167; [Meeting of the Baltimore County Committee], Mar. 7, 1776, *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Series, IV, 1743; Purviance to Capt. Nicholson, Mar. 9, 1776, *ibid.*, V, 1509, *et passim*; *Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore), Mar. 19, 1776; Smith to the Committee of Supplies, Apr. 19, 1813, General Sam Smith Papers, Columbia University Library, N. Y., hereafter Smith Papers; [Meeting of the Maryland Council of Safety], May 8, 1776, *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Series V, 1570; Maryland Convention, *ibid.*, 1588; J. Hollingsworth to Maryland Council of Safety, Oct. 8, 1776, *Arch. Md.*, XI, 326-27, *et passim*.

⁸ Nathaniel Smith's Company, June 29, 1776, and Whetstone Point, Sept. 7, 1776, First Company of Matrosses, *Arch. Md.*, XVIII, 565-70; James Calhoun to Lee, Nov. 30, 1779, Executive Papers, Sept.-Dec., 1779, Box 15.

⁹ Dr. C. Wiesenthal to Major N. Smith, [before Oct. 22, 1778] Brown Books, vol. IV, Maryland Hall of Records; State Council of Maryland to the Chevalier de la Valette [*sic*], Sept. 7, 1782, *Arch. Md.*, XLVIII, 256; Red Books, [Miscellaneous, 1778], Document 66-1, vol. XXI and Brown Books, Document 108, Misc. Military Papers, 1777-1790, vol. V, Maryland Hall of Records.

hospital for fifty men, but over a year and a half later the unfortunate sick were still quartered in part of a barrack. Smith also asked for the construction of a magazine, to hold enough powder for a month's siege, and the erection of a laboratory. The State evidently refused his request for a laboratory, but did authorize the erection of a magazine, which had been started by the end of 1776. But the determination to build a new powder house faded with the disappearance of danger to the city and timbers for it were still on the ground in 1780. Smith probably continued to use a house near the Fort as formerly for the storage of powder.¹⁰

The city and State gradually abandoned Fort Whetstone as the fear of a British attack lessened. In 1780 the already insignificant garrison of five soldiers was reduced to two men and all but four or five of the cannon, many of which had rotten carriages, were ordered to be moved from the Point. Also, the State ordered the sale of all articles, except the cannon and furniture. Because of its deterioration, the boom had been taken up in 1778.¹¹

2

THE UPPER AND LOWER BATTERIES, 1794-1814

By 1794 America and her former ally, France, became increasingly hostile toward each other. Because of the rise of tension, the United States initiated a coastal fortification program in 1794, and a series of forts, known as the first system of fortifications, was developed. This program was responsible for the evolution of Fort Whetstone into Fort McHenry, the new name being in use by July 18, 1798 and honoring the then Secretary of War, James McHenry, a Baltimorean.¹²

¹⁰ Nathaniel Smith to Maryland Council of Safety, Apr. 30, 1776, *Arch. Md.*, XI, 300-01; Wiesenthal to Smith, [before Oct. 22, 1778], Brown Books; Smith to Council, May 20, 1776, *Arch. Md.*, XI, 434; Council to Baltimore County Committee, *ibid.*, XII, 508; Smith to Thomas Johnson, June 3, 1777, Brown Books, Misc. Military Papers, 1777-1790, vol. V; Keepports to Lee, July 12, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, XLV, 11; R. to S. and R. to L.

¹¹ William Banks to Lee, Jan. 29, 1780, Executive Papers, Jan.-Mar., 1780, Box 17; State Council of Maryland to Keepports, Nov. 9, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, XLIII, 356; Council to Keepports, Jan. 11, 1781, *ibid.*, XLV, 270; Keepports to Lee, Jan. 21, 1781, *ibid.*, XLVII, 31; Council, July 19, 1780, *ibid.*, 223; Council to Keepports, Aug. 22, 1780, *ibid.*, 264; Journal, Maryland Council of Safety, Sept. 19, 1778, *ibid.*, XXL, 208; Smith to Johnson, Dec. 22, 1778, Brown Books, Misc. Military Papers, vol. V.

¹² U. S. Congress, House, *Permanent Fortifications and Sea Coast Defenses*, 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1861, Report No. 86, Vol. 4, 2; Register of Warrants, 1795-1799, Accountant's Office, General Accounting Office, N. A., R. G. 217, hereafter, G. A. O.

A committee of the House of Representatives recommended on February 28, 1794 that sixteen important ports and harbors be fortified, endorsing an expenditure of \$4,225.44 for works at Baltimore. An agitated Congress on March 20, 1794 approved a general coastal fortification program, including the specific fortifications recommended for Maryland's great port.¹³ Within four days General Henry Knox had written to Maryland's governor, requesting him to assume overall control of the work and notifying him that an engineer would be sent to direct the actual construction of the fortifications. Shortly thereafter, on March 28, the Secretary of War informed Governor Thomas S. Lee that John Jacob Ulrich Rivardi had been appointed to build the defenses.¹⁴

Rivardi, who subsequently taught at the nation's fledgling military academy, West Point, had received specific orders concerning his job. Knox wrote that after Governor Lee had approved his plans, he should build parapets, embrasures and gun platforms for twenty-eight cannon, plus a redoubt of four embrasures, two magazines, a blockhouse, and barracks. The money-conscious Secretary also remarked that he, Rivardi, could use his judgment in the work, but that not a penny more than the allocated \$4,225.44 could be expended. Because the engineer also had the responsibility for erecting fortifications at Norfolk, Knox ordered Rivardi to stay at Baltimore only a short time and deputize someone to superintend the erection of that city's defenses.¹⁵

When Rivardi arrived in Baltimore and first viewed Fort Whetstone, he must have been dismayed, as the abandonment of the Fort had left it unprotected against the destructive forces of the elements and trespassers. Thus not only had the land upon which the Fort stood been sold, but part of the lower battery had been washed away, the gun platforms had disappeared and the cannon left in the works were on the ground, several of them having been damaged by rust. In addition, shipmasters had appropriated the cannon balls for ballast, a large hole had been made between the

¹³ Report Communicated to the House of Representatives, 3rd Cong., 1st Sess., Feb. 28, 1794, *A. S. P.*, XVI, 62-63; "An Act to provide for the defence of certain ports and harbors in the United States," *Annals of Congress* (42 vol.; Washington, 1834-56), IV, 1423-24, hereafter *Annals*.

¹⁴ H. Knox to the Governor of Maryland, Mar. 24, 28, 1794, Brown Books, Misc. Military Papers, vol. IV.

¹⁵ James A. Jacobs, *The Beginning of the U. S. Army, 1783-1817* (Princeton, 1947), 295; Knox to Rivardi, Mar. 28, 1794, *A. S. P.*, XVI, 87-88.

upper and lower batteries by people digging for "red ochre," or iron, and soil from the dirt Fort's parapets had fallen into the ditch. The removal of the old barracks had made the desolation of the Fort complete.¹⁶

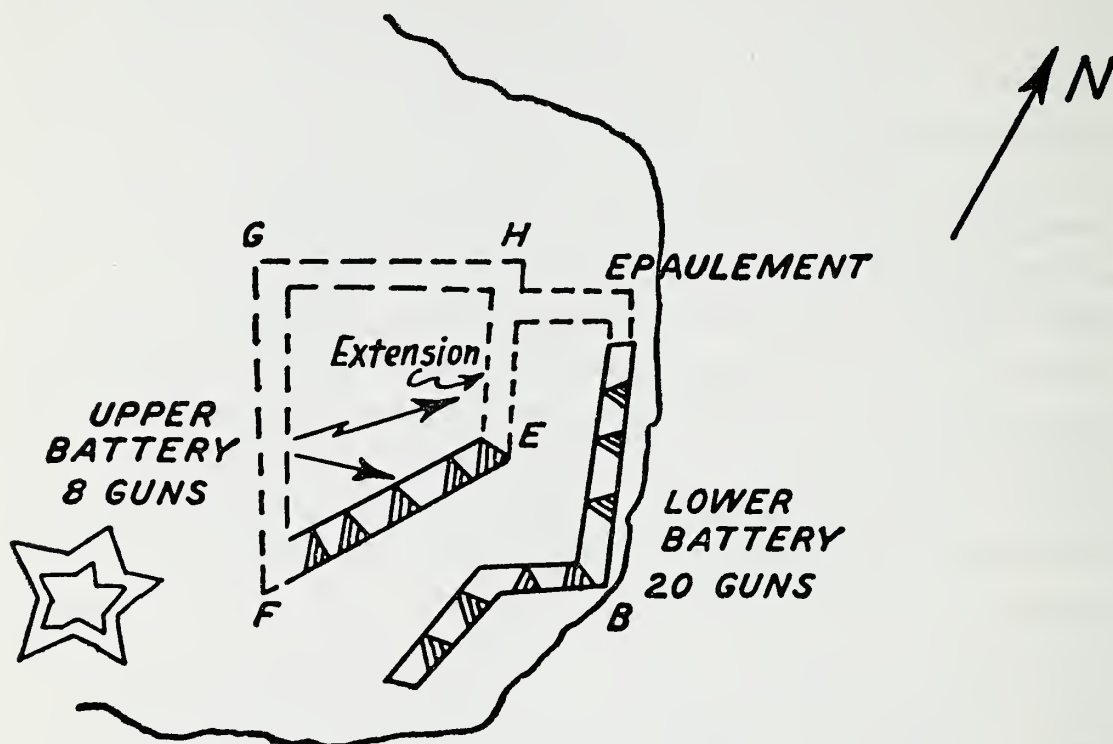


Figure 2. Sketch based on Rivardi's Plans for the water batteries, 1794.

Courtesy of the N. P. S.

After having surveyed the situation, Rivardi wrote basically similar letters to Knox and Lee on April 13, 1794 in which he described his plans for the fortifications, but maps accompanying the letters are still undiscovered, and it is impossible to interpret his references to specific points of fortification with complete confidence. However, we can ascertain the general nature of his proposals.

Rivardi planned three fundamental changes for the lower battery. Because he feared enemy ships might get into the inner harbor, he planned to erect a breastwork to the left (which would extend southwest) of the battery's north end (Figure 2). This epaulement would protect the exposed gun positions and also allow fire to be brought on any vessel in back of the battery.

¹⁶ Henry Whitely, "The Principio Company," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XI (1887), 292; Keepports to Lee, Apr. 7, 1794, Executive Papers, Council Proceedings; R. to S. and R. to L.

Second, because the river had undermined salient angle B (Figure 2) for eleven perches, Rivardi planned to move it back from the water. Such an improvement would not change the direction of fire, but would allow a berm to be built to keep the earth from slipping. Third, Rivardi felt that the lower battery should have the greater number of cannon and thus planned to increase its complement from eleven to twenty guns. He also thought that a short road between the upper and lower battery was necessary.

Rivardi's plans for the upper battery are not as clear as his ideas for the lower work. Essentially, he apparently determined to carry the breastwork planned for the north end of the lower battery back to the upper battery (Figure 2) in order to protect the work against naval fire from the rear. This epaulement would create a new face along the line E for the upper battery, where three guns *en barbette* would be placed. Five cannon would be located along F in Figure 2. He also planned that both batteries would have embrasures and gun platforms.

Rivardi also intended to protect both batteries from a land attack. To do that, he apparently planned to cover the back of the upper battery as shown in Figure 2, because this is the only manner in which, as he said in his letter to Knox, that "The upper battery is sheltered, and we obtain a commodious space, well covered, for the barracks and magazines."¹⁷

Governor Lee had accepted Rivardi's ideas for the fortifications by April 20, 1794. By that date, also, the engineer had selected Samuel Dodge, of Baltimore, to oversee the improvement of the works at Whetstone Point. Before departing for Norfolk, Rivardi outlined his designs on the ground and drew up a list of materials necessary for the platforms and embrasures. He also ordered Dodge to begin with the lower battery and to mount the cannon as the gun positions were completed.¹⁸

Dodge commenced work on the fortifications soon after Rivardi had left for Norfolk. Numerous people in Baltimore joined in the "patriotic exertions" to repair the works, including many "young gentlemen." By May 19, the workers had almost raised the lower battery to its planned "height" and sodding had been

¹⁷ R. to S. and R. to L.

¹⁸ Lee to Gen. Otho Williams, Apr. 4, 1794; Williams to Knox, Apr. 4, 1794; [Williams] to Lee, Apr. 7, 1794: Otho H. Williams Papers, Md. Hist. Soc. Also, Rivardi to Secretary of War, Apr. 20, 1794, *A. S. P.*, XVI, 89.

started. The upper battery had also been worked upon, and Dodge felt that if the citizens continued to help the greater part of the fortifications could be finished in about two months. And in line with Dodge's thinking, near the end of May calls went out for "A column of five hundred juvenile republicans" and "People of Color" to help finish the defenses.¹⁹

The progress Dodge had made at Whetstone Point evidently surprised Rivardi, because in June he complained that he had not been kept informed and that he feared Dodge was not following his instructions. The complaint evidently had no result, because Dodge continued to press the work and by July 8 the lower battery was finished, except for some sodding and the laying of the platforms. The battery was roughly 600 feet long, twenty feet wide and had twenty-four embrasures. A number of the workers then fell ill and remained home, which caused delay, but on September 14, 1794, Dodge wrote Knox that "the lower work of the fortification" was completed, outside of building the platforms.²⁰

The completed "lower work" to which Dodge referred in his letter to the Secretary of War comprised the upper and lower batteries. This is borne out by Rivardi's letter to Governor John Stone on January 15, 1794, in which the engineer said that the "lower battery is in appearance complete." Here Rivardi spoke of both batteries as if they formed one battery, because he also stated that the "breastwork and epaulement are too low by four feet, the traverses have been omitted so that the battery remains unprotected on one side. . . ." These elements were planned for both batteries, but largely for the upper one. Moreover, if "protection" for a side was missing, that could have been only in the upper battery as the lower work was guarded by an epaulement on the north and a low hill on the south. Rivardi also stated that the "upper works" had not been started, but this is a reference to the fortifications above the batteries.²¹

¹⁹ Samuel Dodge to Williams, May 19, 1794, Williams Papers; *Baltimore Daily Repository*, May 8, 27-29, 1794.

²⁰ Rivardi to Secretary of War, June 24, 1794, *A. S. P.*, XVI, 92; Dodge to Knox, July 8, 10, Sept. 14, 1794, *ibid.*, XVI, 92-93.

Knox had opposed the use of embrasures, having wanted the cannon mounted on sea coast carriages, but his point of view was ignored. Knox to Williams, Apr. 2, 1794, Williams Papers.

²¹ Rivardi to Governor John Stone, in "Fort McHenry in 1795," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, V (Sept., 1910), 291-92; R. to S. and R. to L.

Rivardi's and Dodge's repair and improvement of the batteries evidently remained largely unchanged between 1795 and 1814, and even up until the time they were removed in 1831. Reports on fortifications in 1795 and 1796 note no further work at Fort McHenry, but simply state that a "battery" and some barracks had been constructed at Baltimore. By 1798 Sam Smith, Baltimore's peppery politician and soldier, had criticized the works on several occasions, saying at one time that they "were well built, looked extremely well, and had only one fault, viz: that they were absolutely *useless*. . . ." Smith believed they were not protected against a land attack, and in 1798 an additional \$20,000 was appropriated to strengthen the works. Louis Tousard drew up a new plan for the defenses and between August 31, 1798 and April 9, 1799 his plan was accepted by the Baltimore committee responsible for bettering the defenses, work was begun and additional money was requested.²² But in March, 1799 John Foncin was made superintendent of the works, rejecting Tousard's scheme for one of his own. Foncin's plan was concerned with land defenses, as Tousard's had been, and his estimate for a brick fort makes no reference to the batteries. The subsequent construction of the present star fort was largely responsible for an expenditure of \$93,664.36 by 1801, a sum far exceeding the original appropriation.²³ In the following years, changes were made concerning the number of guns and embrasures for the batteries, but it seems clear that their general designs remained the same.

Plans of Fort McHenry for 1803, 1806 and 1819 (Figure 3) also indicate that the basic design of the batteries was not altered before 1814. They show close agreement with regard to the lower battery in the measurements of its various sections, in the arrangement of the uncompleted epaulement and in the changed position of the salient angle B. The upper battery in the maps also gener-

²² Report from the Department of War, relative to the Fortifications of the Ports and Harbors of the United States, *Annals*, VI, 2571-72; Timothy Pickering to the President, *A. S. P.*, XVI, 110-11; [Comments of Sam Smith], Jan. 5, 1795, *Annals*, IV, 1059-60, Feb., 1797, *ibid.*, VI, 2218-19; *ibid.*, VIII, 1393; James McHenry to [Baltimore Committee], to Alexis De Leyritz and to Maj. L. Tousard, July 7, 1798; McHenry to [J. Yellott *et al.*], Aug. 31, 1798, to Harrison G. Otis, Dec. 24, 1798, and Robert Gilmore to McHenry, Sept. 21, Nov. 13, 1798, Apr. 9, 1799: James McHenry Papers, Library of Congress.

²³ McHenry to John Foncin, Mar. 28, Sept. 23, 1799; to Gilmore, Mar. 28, Apr. 17, July 15, 1799: McHenry Papers. Register of Warrants, 1800 to 1802, Accountant's Office, G. A. O.; "Statement of moneys applied for the defense of certain Ports and Harbors . . .," *A. S. P.*, XVI, 152-53.

ally agrees with the sketch of Rivardi's plan for it in Figure 2. It is true that the east face of the battery is semi-circular in the maps

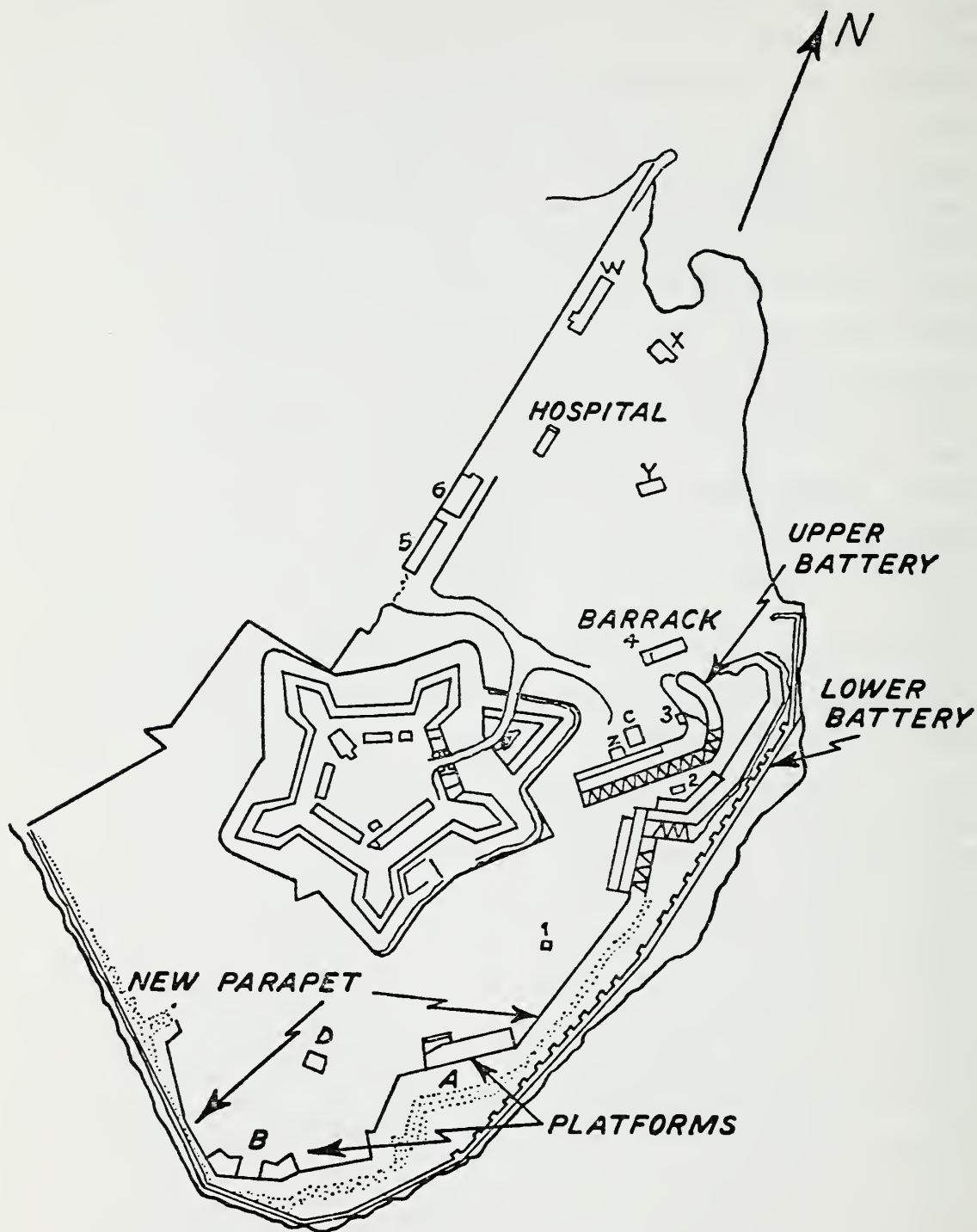


Figure 3. Fort McHenry, 1819, based on Poussin's Plan.

Courtesy of the National Archives.

instead of being straight, but that detail could not be deducted from Rivardi's plan for it.²⁴

²⁴ Fort McHenry, November 9, 1803, Drawer 51, Sheet 1, Office of the Chief of Engineers, N.A., R.G. 77; W. T. Poussin, Capt. Top. Engineers, "Plan and

John Adams, in his last year as president ended the undeclared war. But the nation still enjoyed only an uneasy peace with France and England. No matter, after the completion of the star fort, Fort McHenry entered upon lean days and by 1812 had seriously deteriorated. However, Baltimore exhibited little alarm over the state of her fortifications until the arrival of a strong British fleet in the Chesapeake Bay in the early spring. Only then did the amiable citizens rouse themselves over their defenses.

Upon investigation, alarmed individuals discovered that the lower battery at the Fort was in a bad state of disrepair. Its parapet, whose interior wall was of brick, still stood, but the embrasures had apparently been filled in, and the river had washed away the ground beneath the battery. Even more disquieting, there were neither cannon nor gun platforms for the battery. Once again lack of use had resulted in serious damage to the fortification.²⁵

Sam Smith, now a Major General, quickly recognized the unprepared state of the lower battery, which he held to be the major unit of the defenses. Late in March and early in April, he urged that steps be taken to improve the defensive works of the city, and by April 12, he stated that the "works at Fort McMenry" were being rapidly improved.²⁶ Because he wanted embrasures in the battery in order to protect the cannoneers, possibly twenty openings were made in the parapet.²⁷ Workers also replaced the

Profiles of Fort McHenry, 1819," Drawer 51, Sheet 2, *ibid.*, hereafter cited as Poussin's Plan.

The "Plan of Fort McHenry by Captain Walbach of the Artillery for the U. S. Military Philosophical Society, No. 1," in the Papers of the United States Military Society, New York Historical Society, bears no date. However, as the Minutes of the Society note the receipt of the map on October 9, 1806 and as Walbach was at Fort McHenry between May 8, 1805 and August 1, 1806 the plan can be dated at 1806. Oct. 9, 1806, Minutes, vol. 1, Papers of the U. S. Military Society; Walbach to Wm. Linnard, May 8, July 4, 1805; N. Pinkney to Linnard, Aug. 1, 1806, C. C. F.

²⁵ Gen. Sam Smith to Gen. J. Armstrong, Mar. 18, 1813, S. S.; Col. Decius Wadsworth to Maj. George Armistead, Feb. 12, 1814, Letters Sent, 1812-1825, Office of the Chief of Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156.

The embrasures had evidently been removed prior to 1803, as the map of 1803 does not show them. The battery had not been used since at least 1809 (see sources in footnote 30, *infra.*).

²⁶ Smith to Armstrong, Mar. 29, 1813, S. S.; Smith to Armstrong, Apr. 5, 1813, Letters Received, S. W. See also Smith to Edward Johnson, Apr. 12, 1813, no. 568, Baltimore City Archives, City Hall, Baltimore, hereafter B. C. A.

²⁷ [Smith] to [?], Apr. 27, 1813, Smith Papers; "Bombardment of Fort McHenry, September 13, 1814," Artist unknown, Peale Museum, Baltimore, hereafter Bombardment. Because of the representation of the British vessels in the painting,

gun platforms, which were made of two layers of planking, the bottom layer laid crosswise and the top layer placed end to end. Recognizing that the enemy might attempt to sail up the Ferry Branch of the Patapsco River, Smith had the parapet of the battery carried around the entire tip of Whetstone Point. This was a great undertaking and laborers had to move a vast amount of earth for it. Behind the new parapet the carpenters erected a platform for six or seven cannon and two platforms for two guns each, all of which enhanced the Fort's control over the Ferry Branch (Figure 3). After Smith had had the battery fully repaired and improved, it could hold a complement of thirty or thirty-one cannon.²⁸

It is impossible to be precise about the number of cannon in the lower battery at the time of the bombardment. One difficulty in this respect is that correspondents often referred to ordnance incorrectly. Smith, for example, in a letter mistakenly called French thirty-six and eighteen pounders forty-two and twenty-eight pounders respectively. In addition, he also referred to twenty-two pounders, but ordnance returns do not list such guns for the Fort. Another complication is that guns were moved from time to time, and all such moves cannot be traced. In any event, on April 17, 1813 Smith wrote that the battery would soon have thirty cannon—seventeen French thirty-six, five twenty-four and eight eighteen pounders.²⁹ But the officers subsequently shifted the cannon, and by December 1, 1813, the battery apparently had fifteen thirty-six pounders and fifteen other guns, probably twenty-four and

three well informed individuals on naval matters feel that the picture was done during the bombardment. M. V. Brewington to George C. Mackenzie, June 23, 1958; Memorandum of R. H. Gibson, June 25, 1958; M. S. Robinson, July 10, 1958, National Maritime Museum, London, to Robert H. Atkinson: all in Fort McHenry N. M. and H. S. files.

By taking an average distance of 22.4 feet between the gun embrasures on Poussin's Plan, twenty embrasures could have been made for the battery.

²⁸ Poussin's Plan; [Order], Headquarters, 3 division, Apr. 25, 1813, Smith Papers; Wadsworth to Armstrong, Apr. 26, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; [Smith] to Maj. Beall, Apr. 22, 1813, to Maj. Tenant, May 8, 1813, to Committee of Public Supplies, May 18, 1813, Smith Papers; Smith to George Graham, Dec. 30, 1816, Letterbook, S. Smith (Microfilm), Md. Hist. Soc.; Hands' time from the 24 of April to the 15th of May, 1813, no. 676, Box 21, B. C. A.

²⁹ Smith to Armstrong, Apr. 17, 1813, Smith Papers; Wadsworth to Armistead, Feb. 22, Mar. 9, Apr. 6, 1814, Letters Sent, 1812-1825, Office of the Chief of Artillery, N. A., R. G., 156; Armistead to Wadsworth, Feb. 8, 15, 1814, Selected Letters Received, 1801-1820, *ibid.*; General Return of Ordnance, April 1 and July 1, 1814, Returns of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, *ibid.*

eighteen-pounders. By the time of the bombardment, Major George Armistead, the Fort's commander, probably had fifteen thirty-six-pounders divided between the left of the battery and the platforms overlooking the Ferry Branch, with fifteen twenty-four and eighteen-pounders interspersed among them. The French guns were mounted on naval carriages and the others on Burbeck carriages.³⁰

Because of the misfortune of the French warship *L'Eole*, the Americans had the good fortune of having thirty-six pounders in the battery in 1814. In 1806, a violent storm almost sank the proud seventy-four gun vessel, tearing away all of the masts and damaging the rudder. It struggled into Annapolis, but the hulk subsequently settled into its final berth in Baltimore. There everything but the ship's cannon and carriages was placed on sale, an ignominious end for a mighty man-of-war. The French consul entered into negotiations to sell the cannon to the United States in the fall of 1812, but as nothing came of this, at least some of the ordnance was loaned to Fort McHenry in the spring of 1813. These cannon consisted of thirty-six (which almost all Americans called forty-two pounders) and eighteen-pounders.³¹

The garrison at the Fort had ten guns mounted in the upper battery in early 1813,³² but it was no more ready for action than the lower battery. Time had seen the disappearance of the gun platforms, as well as the closing of the battery's embrasures. But in this crisis laborers replaced the platforms and made perhaps as many as seventeen embrasures in the parapet. After the work

³⁰ [Orders], 3rd Division, Apr. 25, May 8, 1813, S. S.; Capt. S. Babcock to Secretary of War, Dec. 1, 1813, S. W.; Armistead to Wadsworth, Feb. 2, Mar. 7, 13, Apr. 14, 1814, Selected Letters Received, 1801-1820, Office Chief of Artillery, N. A., G. G. 156; Wadsworth to Armstrong, Apr. 26, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; Wadsworth to Armistead, Dec. 12, 1814, Letters Sent, 1812-1825, Office Chief of Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156; Bombardment; Armistead to Smith, Sept. 10, 1814, S. S.

³¹ *American Commercial Daily Advertiser* (Baltimore), Sept. 15, 18, 1806, June 2, 1808; LeLoup to M. Eustis, Sept. 15, 1812 and Beall to Eustis, Oct. 1, 1812, Selected documents of letters received, 1807-1812, S. W. Some of these guns were apparently at the Fort as late as 1835. Gen. J. R. Fenwick to Gen. A. Macomb, Jan. 12, 1835, Letters Received, Office of Chief of Engineers, N. A., R. G. 77.

³² It was stated in 1809 and 1811 that the "water battery" had ten mounted guns, and letters of Sam Smith in 1812 and 1813 show that it was the upper battery of the water battery that had those guns. Reports of the Secretary of War and Mr. Cheves, Dec. 19, 1809, Dec. 17, 1811, *A. S. P.*, XVI, 245-47, 307-10; Lt. H. A. Fay to Eustis, July 29, 1811, Selected Documents of Letters Received, 1807-1812, S. W.; Smith to Eustis, Sept. 22, 1812, Letters Received, *ibid.*; Smith to Armstrong, Mar. 18, 1813, S. S.

had been improved, Smith wanted to put ten guns back in the battery, but evidently only six were placed in it, and there is no indication that they were increased before the bombardment. These guns were probably twenty-four and eighteen-pounders, perhaps three of each.³³

Warfare had changed so little since the Revolution that once again officers ordered the erection of furnaces for heating shot. Masons had built a furnace for the lower battery by the end of April, but it was full of defects and had to be rebuilt. As the engineer in charge of constructing the furnaces and other items stated he had completed his work on December 1, 1813, all of the furnaces must have been ready by then. The only clue for the location of the lower battery's furnace is pictured in an anonymous water color of the bombardment in which a smoke-stack is discernable at the right end of the battery. The location of the furnace for the upper battery is not known.³⁴

Besides the outworks *per se*, the exterior scene at the Fort in September, 1814 presented several buildings. With the preparation of the batteries for action, an ordnance officer, Colonel Decius Wadsworth, urged that magazines be built for them. Delay ensued, however, and Major Armistead stated in July, 1813 that a bombproof was still needed for the "Water Battery and Guns outside of the Fort say thirty-one." Armistead clearly referred to the lower battery, which had thirty cannon, and his complaint proved effective as a magazine had apparently been erected by July 16. The Fort's commander had wanted a building twelve by eight feet, and on Poussin's plan it measures thirteen by ten feet. The magazine was in front of the southeast face of the Fort, near the six or seven-gun battery that faced the Ferry Branch (Figure 3, 1).³⁵

³³ Col. J. G. Swift to Beall, Mar. 27, 1813, Archives, United States Military Academy; Babcock to Secretary of War, July 31, 1813; by using the average measurements for the battery's embrasures on Poussin's Plan, four additional openings could have been made in the abandoned area of the battery. See also Smith to Armstrong, Apr. 2, 1813; Babcock to Secretary of War, S. W.

³⁴ Swift to Beall, Mar. 27, 1813, Archives, United States Military Academy; Smith to Armstrong, Apr. 17, 1813, Smith Papers; Wadsworth to Armstrong, Apr. 26, 1813, S. W.; Smith to Wadsworth, Apr. 27, 1813, Selected Letters Received, 1801-1820, Office Chief Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156 [Smith] to Armstrong, Apr. 21, 1813, Smith Papers; Babcock to Secretary War, Dec. 1, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; Bombardment.

³⁵ Wadsworth to Armstrong Apr. 26, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; Armistead to Secretary War, July 7, 1813, Selected pages from Registers of Letters Received,

Officers continued to see the need for additional powder houses. In March, 1814 Armistead suggested that the guns on the lower battery be moved to the right and that a magazine be built for them. Although the cannon were not shifted, the magazine was evidently constructed, for what other purpose could have the structure numbered 2 on Figure 3 served? It might have been a privy, but a magazine there would have been more necessary. Moreover, a bill exists for the building of a magazine in March, 1814.³⁶ This bill, however, could have been for the structure numbered 3 on Figure 3, which was probably a magazine at the time of the bombardment, as building C was a post-bombardment magazine and building Z was a bakehouse.³⁷

Although there were always sick soldiers in the fortifications at Whetstone Point, up until 1813 no commanding officer had been successful in having a hospital built. Physicians had used makeshift quarters for the ailing prior to 1813, first in a house that was too old to be repaired in 1811 and then perhaps in the end of a stable. But in the summer of 1813 the War Department approved the recommendation that a hospital be erected, and it was begun in September of the same year and apparently completed in February, 1814.³⁸ The building, as originally constructed,

1813-1821, *ibid.*; [Bill of Baker (?)], July 16, 1813, "Selected" Accounts and Letters concerning the Defense of Baltimore, . . . , G. A. O.; Pouissin's Plan.

³⁶ Armistead to Wadsworth, Mar. 7, 13, 1814, Selected Letters Received, 1801-1820, Office Chief Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156; Committee of Supply in Acct. with James Mosher, March 22, 1814, "Selected" Accounts and Letters concerning the Defense of Baltimore, G. A. O.

³⁷ Structures C and D (Figure 3) are listed as magazines on a plan of 1834, while the other magazines are not shown on it. The former buildings were built by Maximilian Godefroy, who worked at the Fort after the bombardment. Fort McHenry, Drawn in obedience to a circular . . . Nov. 13, 1813, by Lt. Thos. S. Lee, O. C. E., hereafter Lee's Plan; Smith to Monroe, Oct. 12, 1814, S. W.; Max. Godefroy to the Gentlemen of the Committee for the Monument, Mar. 22, 1815, Battle Monument Papers, 1814-1820, Md. Hist. Soc. Lee's Plan lists building Z as a bakehouse, but it is not known if the building stood in 1814.

³⁸ Lee's Plan names and locates the hospital, and as its location and measurements generally agree with those on Poussin's Plan, the hospital's location on the latter plan is established. The purpose of the enclosed area shown on Poussin's Plan is unknown. Walbach to Secretary War, June 19, 1811, Selected Documents of Letters Received, 1807-1812, S. W.; [Armistead to Secretary War], July 7, 1813, Selected pages from Register of Letters Received, 1813-1821, *ibid.*; Armistead to Secretary War, Aug. 31, 1813, Letters Received, *ibid.*; Daniel Parker to Armistead and [Major Bentalou], Sept. 2, 1813, Daniel Parker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Bentalou to Wm. Simmons, Dec. 9, 1813, "Selected" Account and Letters concerning the Defense of Baltimore; G. A. O. Journal No. 4, 1814, Accountant's Office, Feb. 2, 1814, *ibid.*, G. A. O.

was of brick, two stories in height and probably had plastered walls and wards that held five beds each. An officer subsequently declared that the upstairs' windows were too small to allow for proper ventilation.³⁹

Because of the barracks inside the star fort, there was probably only one exterior barrack when the British hove into view. A report of 1812 states that there was a "wooden barrack" outside the Fort, which was probably structure number 4 in Figure 3. References of 1812 and 1813 refer to exterior "barracks," however, and the most significant of them is Sam Smith's mention of the "Barracks near the Battery." But the word "barracks" had a singular connotation, and the building already cited must have been the one Smith spoke of, as there was no other structure near the battery large enough to serve the purpose.⁴⁰

Several years before 1814 the commanding officers of the Fort had erected a gun shed and a stable, and they were probably standing at the time of the bombardment. A Lt. Ninian Pinkney ordered materials for a gun shed in July, 1810 and over \$586 worth of bricks, timber and shingles, presumably for the shed, were purchased. This building (Figure 3, 5) was also intended to serve as a store house. Captain George Peter built a combined stable and store house in the next year, and on October 19, 1808 it was reported as having been practically completed. The building was of brick and measured seventy-five by twenty-four feet. The first floor was to be used as a stable or cannon shed, while the second floor was planned as a store house (Figure 3, 6).⁴¹

There is no material available that indicates the buildings marked W, X, Y, and Z in Figure 3 were standing in September, 1814. Building W was probably the building referred to in 1831

³⁹ Lt. S. B. Dusenbery to Jesup, Feb. 24, 1829, C. C. F. (Enclosed with this letter is an estimate of J. & P. Dushane, Feb. 16, 1829, for the addition of piazzas to the hospital); H. A. Thompson to Capt. R. H. Smith, Mar. 21, 1839; Letters Received, O. C. E.; Maj. M. M. Payne to Jesup, Feb. 16, 1832, and Capt. D. S. Miles to Maj. T. Cross, Feb. 8, 1838, C. C. F.

⁴⁰ Report of Mr. [Langdon] Cheves, Dec. 10, 1811, *A. S. P.*, XVI, 307-10. A single wooden barrack outside the Fort was also apparently referred to in February, 1811—Capt. W. E. Williams to Eustis, and Lt. H. A. Fay to [?], both Feb. 1, 1811, Selected Documents of Letters Received, 1807-1812, S. W. See also Alexander Knight to Lt. Col. Winder, Apr. 13, 1812, Winder Papers; [Smith] to [?], Apr. 14, 1813, S. S.

⁴¹ Pinkney to Linnard, July 18, 1807 and Lee to Jesup, Nov. 19, 1814, C. C. F.; Journal O, Apr. 29, 1808, January 29, 1808 to November 30, 1808, Accountant's Office, G. A. O.; [Report of the Secretary of War], Dec. 10, 1811, *A. S. P.*, XVI, 307-10; [Capt.] George Peter to Gen. Dearborn, Oct. 19, 1808, Selected documents of letters received, 1807-1812, S. W.

as a boathouse and nothing is known about building X; structure Y was probably erected as a laboratory in 1816. The structure marked Z is listed as a bake house in Lee's Plan.⁴²

Of all the buildings at the Fort, the enlisted men were surely most interested in the tavern that was happily located close to the northeast bastion of the star fort. It was a roomy, two story brick structure, which in 1836 measured 150 by 50 feet, and dated from at least 1799. Officers never appreciated the convenient hostelry as their troops did. Indeed, the commissioned personnel were not at all adverse to recommending that the tavern be purchased by the government. The luck of the soldiers remained strong until 1834-36, however, since it was only then that the property was purchased by the United States.⁴³

3

ADDITIONAL DEFENSES RELATED TO FORT MCHENRY

The builders of Baltimore's defenses erected several important fortifications near Fort McHenry that have to be considered in any study of the works, especially since they strengthened control by the Fort over the channel and the Ferry Branch of the Patapsco River.

As early as 1794, Rivardi had seen the necessity of placing a battery on Gorsuch's Point, but the redoubt suggested by him was not built. That was only done in the spring of 1813, when Sam Smith also saw the need for a battery there and had a parapet thrown up. Instead of the five or six guns Smith had planned for the battery, however, at the time of the British attack there were only three long eighteen-pounders behind that dirt wall (Map).⁴⁴

⁴² Payne to Jesup, Apr. 20, 1831 and Ripley to Jesup, May 11, 1831, C. C. F.; Armistead to Lt. Baden, Dec. 12, 1816, Selected Letters Received, 1801-1820, Office Chief Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156. A laboratory may have been erected at the Fort in 1812; and apparently there was one there in 1814, but its location is unknown. Inspector's Office to Beall, June 10, 15, 1812, Selected pages from Letters Sent, 1809-1816, S. W.; Armistead to Wadsworth, July 15, 28, Aug. 4, 1808, Selected Letters Received, 1801-1820, Office Chief Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156.

⁴³ Register of Warrants, January 24, 1800, 1800 to 1802, Accountant's Office, G. A. O.; Armistead to Swift, Dec. 31, 1817 and Col. J. Hindman to Armistead, Mar. 17, 1819, Selected Correspondence Relating to Fort McHenry, Maryland, 1811-1837, Office of the Chief of Engineers, N. A., R. G. 77; Thompson to Gen. Gratiot, Dec. 24, 1835, Sept. 12, 1836, Letters Received, *ibid.*; Walbach to Jesup, May 7, 1833, Dusenbery to Jesup, Oct. 30, 1833, and Peter to Lt. R. Archer, Oct. 15, 1835, C. C. F.

⁴⁴ R. to S. and R. to L.; U. S. Congress, *Report of the Treasury on the Memorial*

The cannon at the Fort and at Gorsuch's Point could fire across the Ft. McHenry channel, but Smith, dissatisfied, ordered a boom to be placed across the mouth of the harbor. Lieutenant Rutter and his Sea Fencibles began work on the obstruction early in May and by August 15, 1813 a boom had been placed across the channel (Map). It consisted of a chain supported by masts that were laid end to end and were lashed and bolted together.⁴⁵ Smith had also ordered the boom extended part way around the lower battery, 450 feet out in the water from it, in order to hinder a surprise attack on that work. This section of the obstruction was made of long pieces of timber placed end to end and supported by piles. Subsequently, the General recommended that the boom be continued around the "whole front of the Batteries," which was accordingly done in the summer of 1814.⁴⁶

A further step to make it difficult, if not impossible, for an enemy to break into the harbor consisted of sinking hulks behind the boom—once again at the suggestion of Baltimore's soldier-dynamo, Sam Smith. Vessels had been prepared for sinking by May 18, 1813, which evidently consisted of removing the masts, putting ballast in the ships and moving them near the Fort. Although the Secretary of War ordered the hulks to be sunk, they remained afloat near Fort McHenry until September 1, 1813, when Smith recommended that they be removed to a wharf where they could be maintained.⁴⁷ There the ships remained until the

of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore,, 20th Cong., 1st Sess., 1827, House Doc. 39, Vol. 2, 20-21; Smith to J. C. Calhoun, Letterbook; Babcock to Secretary War, Dec. 1, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; Report of Lt. Rutter, Sept. 11, 1814, Rodgers Papers.

⁴⁵ Division Orders, 3 Division, May 4, 1813, Smith Papers; [Order], Headquarters, Aug. 15, 1813, *ibid.* Armistead was ordered to close the boom every night.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, In February, 1818 Smith said that the boom had been laid 100 feet from the lower battery. Smith to Calhoun, Feb. 9, 1818, Letterbook.

See also Smith to Armstrong, June 30, 1814, Selected documents from Letters Received, 1814-1817, S. W.; Armstrong to Smith, to Bentalou, both July 8, 1814, Selected pages Letters Sent, *ibid.*; Bentalou to [?] Oct. 22, 1814, Selected Records pertaining to Fort McHenry, Accountant's Office, War Department, "Selected" Letters Received, 1806-1817, G. A. O. The boom at Ferry Point was not erected before the British attack. Smith to Monroe, Sept. 19, 1814, Selected Documents from Letters Received, 1814-1817, S. W.

⁴⁷ Smith to the Committee of Supplies, Apr. 19, to Armstrong, May 6, and to Committee of Public Supplies, May 18, 1813, Smith Papers; Wadsworth to Armstrong, May 3, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; Armstrong to Wadsworth, May 4, 1813, Selected Letters Received, 1801-1820, Office Chief Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156; [Statement of R. W. Gill], [1814], "Selected" Accounts and Letters concerning the Defense of Baltimore, Maryland, War of 1812, 1812-1902, G. A. O.; Smith to the Committee of Public Supplies, Sept. 1, 1813, *ibid.*

enemy fleet had appeared off Baltimore; then they were hastily moved down to the fortifications and sunk. One report states that twenty-four vessels were placed at the "entrance of the harbour," but perhaps some of them were used to block the entrance to the Ferry Branch as it is doubtful that over a dozen would have been needed to seal effectively the 600 yard channel at the Fort. The hulks remained beneath the water for several months, since it was not until December, 1814 that an order was given to raise them. By January of the new year some of them had been brought to the surface.⁴⁸

With the preparation of strong batteries, a boom and hulks, it would seem that the channel had been adequately protected, but Smith took an additional precaution. He ordered a number of gun barges built and stationed eight of the boats behind the boom; each of them had a long eight-pounder and four of them had an additional twelve-pounder. Perhaps Smith believed the channel was only sealed when these barges were in position.⁴⁹

Several steps were planned or taken to better the defenses on the Ferry Branch of the Patapsco River. In addition to extending the lower battery around the end of Whetstone Point and placing some guns behind it so they could fire into the Ferry Branch, it was planned to sink hulks in the channel between Fort McHenry and Cromwell's Marsh (Map). But for some reason the vessels were not sunk until several days after the bombardment, and the channel was not completely blocked until November 30, 1814.⁵⁰

Several officers saw the need for batteries along the Ferry Branch, and two were completed by September, 1814. Laborers began erecting the City Battery (Map), also known as the Babcock or Six Gun Battery, in April or May, 1813, and they probably completed the job quickly because of the work's uncomplicated

⁴⁸ Deposition of Beverly Diggs, *ibid.*; Smith to the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, Sept. 11, 1814, S. S.; U. S. Congress, Senate, [Report on the vessels sunk in Baltimore harbor in the War of 1812], 19th Cong., 1st Sess., 1825, Senate Document 8, Vol. 1, 1; [Secretary of War] to Gen. W. Scott, Dec. 9, 1814, to Bentalou, Dec. 12, 1814, Selected Pages, Letters Sent, S. W.; Bentalou to Monroe, Dec. 22, 1814, Jan. 2, 1815, Selected documents from Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1812-1814, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Smith to Calhoun, Feb. 9, 1818, Letterbook; *Niles' Register*, Sept. 24, 1814, vol. 7, 25-27; Report of Lieutenant Rutter, Sept. 11, 1814, Rodgers Papers; Bombardment.

⁵⁰ Commodore John Rodgers to Smith, Sept. 18, 19, 1814, S. S.; Rutter to T. Bland, Nov. 30, 1814, no. 571, B. C.A.

nature. The battery's main feature was a four foot high earthen breastwork. Smith recommended that a magazine be built, but to no avail, and during the bombardment a hole in a hill sixty feet behind the guns became a storage place for ammunition. The Secretary of War also ignored a suggestion that a furnace for heating shot be made part of the battery, but even so, the outpost and its six French eighteen-pounders handled the enemy admirably with just cold shot during the British attack. This work was about a mile and a quarter west of Fort McHenry.⁵¹

Fort Covington (Map) was erected a quarter of a mile west of the City Battery in order to protect Baltimore against bombardment from enemy ships that might break into the Ferry Branch. The Fort resembled a piece of pie, for it was demi-revetted in front and had brick side walls that slanted inward as they moved away from the parapet and met 150 feet in back of the center of the breastwork. Inside the Fort there were quarters for a company of men, plus a magazine. The work had been completed by December 1, 1813, and some improvements were subsequently planned in the next year, such as repairing the masonry and adding a laboratory, but it is not believed these changes were ever made.⁵² It was recommended that the Fort be armed with ten or twelve French eighteen-pounders, but it is doubtful this many were placed in the work by the time of bombardment.⁵³

Almost nothing is known about the construction of Fort Wood (Map), except that it was not finished by September 14, 1814, as guns were still being readied for the work a month after the British attack.⁵⁴

⁵¹ J. Morton to Wadsworth, May 4, 1813, Selected Letters Received, Office Chief Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156; [Capt. John A. Webster to Brantz Mayer], Aug. 10, 1853, in the *Sun* (Baltimore), Sept. 23, 1928; Smith to Armstrong, June 27, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; Babcock to Secretary War, Dec. 1, 1813, *ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*; Wadsworth to Armstrong, May 3, [May 10], 1813, and Calhoun to [Secretary War], May 7, 1814, *ibid.*; Wadsworth to [Secretary War], Feb. 14, 1817, Selected Pages, Letters and Endorsements Sent to the Secretary of War, 1812-1817, Office Chief Artillery, N. A., R. G. 156; Wadsworth to Armistead, Feb. 22, Mar. 9, Apr. 6, 1814, to James Mosher, Feb. 22, 26, 1814, Letters Sent, 1812-1825, *ibid.*; Poussin's Plan.

⁵³ Wadsworth to Armistead, Feb. 12, 1814, *et passim, ibid.*; Armistead to Wadsworth, Feb. 8, 1814, Selected Letters Received, 1801-1820, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Smith to the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, Oct. 14, 1814, no. 533, Box 533, B. C. A.; Committee of Vigilance and Safety to Scott, No. v., 1, 1814, Selected documents from Letters Received, 1814-1817, S. W.

4

In this missile and nuclear weapon age, the exterior works of Fort McHenry may appear a little ludicrous. But from the time the batteries were erected in 1794 down to their repair and improvement in 1813-14, they conformed to the accepted principles for fortifications. And in the same traditional manner, they were allowed to deteriorate after a threatened attack had passed.

General Sam Smith galvanized Baltimore into action in 1813 and brought about the renovation of the batteries. Perhaps his most important work was the rebuilding and enlargement of the lower battery so that it could better protect the Fort McHenry Channel and the Ferry Branch. He also was responsible for the additional batteries erected on Gorsuch's Point and on the shore of the Patapsco River west of the Fort.

All of the exterior works served Baltimore well during the British attack on Baltimore. By keeping the enemy fleet at bay and repulsing a night attack, they did much to save the city and keep the Star Spangled Banner flying.

(To be continued)

SIDELIGHTS

GETTYSBURG DESCRIBED IN TWO LETTERS FROM A MARYLAND CONFEDERATE

Recently, through the Maryland Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, several groups of letters have been presented to the Maryland Historical Society. Among these letters were several from Joseph H. Trundle, a Maryland Confederate serving with the Second Maryland Infantry, C. S. A. to members of his family. Mr. Trundle's daughter, Miss Bertha T. Trundle of Frederick, Md., has graciously given us permission to print two of these letters, which we are doing in their entirety and without making any alterations. Inasmuch as these two letters frame the battle of Gettysburg, the editors hope that they will be of interest to all.

Snigglesville Loudan Co.
June 16, 1863

My Dear Sister

Here we are resting in an orchard, enjoying the cool shade, scarcely a days ride from home. We came here from CharlesTown today, remained there all night last night. I saw uncle Nathan's family took supper with them. They are all well but very much distressed about the death of poor Ben, he was killed at the last battle of Fredericksburg, they only heard of his death a short time ago. We had a battle at Winchester a day or two ago & captured about 6000 prisoners & pursued the remainder of Milroy's troops to Martinsburg & have been fighting them there today, the result of which is not known. Our Battalion has been detached from the brigade & now we are attached to Gen Ewell's command. We were in the last fight at beverlys ford & the Batallion suffered very severely we lost 90 men killed wounded & missing, in our company we had 6 wounded 1 killed & 13 wounded. The man that was killed was from Baltimore Co. & most of wounded were from Baltimore City except Henry Tillman & Capt. Cheswell from Montg. Capt was wounded in leg & Henry shot through the breast. Willie Besant was one among the number who were taken prisoners. All the boys in the Company are well. A gentleman is waiting for this letter too & must close.

Your Aff. Bro
Joseph H. Trundle

P. S. Excuse this hurried letter there is so much excitement in the Command about the movements of our army I can scarcely write at all. Put on the big pot & little one & look out for you know what.

Ask Ma to get me some nice grey cloth & some Maryland buttons & tinsel trimming & a pair of Mexican spurs for fear I might soon get home.

Give my love to all friends & all the family & reserve a portion for yourself.

Jos. Trundle

Hagerstown July 7, 1863

Dear Sister

Thinking I might not have a chance to get home, I concluded to write to you. Our whole Army is encamped around this place, whether our troops will retire across the river or advance 'tis hard to tell. Our Battalion has been with Gen. Ewell, ever since he crossed the Potomac, acting as provost guard & couriers. We went with him to Chambersburg, from there to Hanover, from there to Gettysburg from there to York & from there to Susquehanna River, to a place called Columbia, there we met the enemy & drove them across the river, they, burning the splendid bridge after them, it was a splendid piece of workmanship a mile & quarter long. We then fell back to Gettysburg where we had one of the hardest battles of the war, which lasted three days. Our loss was very heavy as well as that of the enemy. The first day we drove them, all day long, Killing & wounding any number of them. The second we were not as successful, we drove the right & left but the centre, having possession of the cemetery hill, stood firm, but we slaughtered them by hundreds on the right & left. The third day we attempted twice to take those Heights but were repulsed, with heavy loss, both times. The Maryland Battalion of Infantry went in the charge with 500 men & came out with 250. Our Generals finding they could not take those hills, when the enemy had entrenched himself the night before, began to retreat towards this place. The Yankee Cavalry ran into our train & captured 300 hundred wagons, but Gen Stuart recaptured all but 14. Our loss is estimated at from 8 to 10 thousand, the majority of them wounded & one thing that seemed very strange a great many very slightly wounded who were sent over to Dixie. The Enemy's loss cannot be less than 25 or 30 thousand. Our Gen's think it cannot be less. We had possession of the Battle field up to the third day & it was the most horrible sight I ever saw. The Yankee's laid 10 to one in most places especially when our boys charged them I don't think I ever saw Yanks run so in my life. We captured 12 thousand prisoners & don't you think the rascals wouldn't accept parole said they would be recaptured, but I don't think they'll be recaptured, they are nearly to Richmond by this time. Our loss in Prisoners, I think, is quite small. I have no doubt the Yankees Claim a great victory, but such victorys will soon decrease the Yankee Army to a mere regiment. Their loss in Officers was very heavy, they had 4 Brig. Gen's & one Major Gen. Killed & another Mortally wounded. One was Maj. Gen. Reynolds & other Barlow. Besides a great many Minor officers Col's &c. We lost two Brig. Gen's. (Barksdale & Garnett a bro to the Gen Garnet that was

Killed at the commencement of the war in Western Va.) killed. & one, whose name I have not learned, badly wounded. We beleive we had to contend withe the entire Yank Army, those from Harpers ferry & every where else besides 100 thousand Malitia. All the boys in our company are well & those who were wounded at Beverly ford are getting well. Capt Chiswells leg has not been amputated yet, the last we heard from him they did not think it necessary. Willie Besant has not returned to company yet, Albert Stoutzenberger was sent with a dispatch to Gen. Ewell before the Battle at Gettysburg & did not return & it is thought he was taken prisoner. Capt Thomas boys are all well & Jno. Foutt was well when I saw him last, a few days ago. All the rest of Boys from our country are well. We gave the old dutch in Penn. fits. Our Army left a mark everywhere it went. Horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, chickens, spring Houses suffered alike. They cried peace, peace most beautifully Every where we went. In some places we found a good many Copperheads & some Knights of Golden Circle, at least they professed to be such but I expect it was more for protection than any thing else. The stores were opened & our soldiers were furnished with a great many articles that they needed, particularly Boots, Shoes, Hats, &c. I believe I have given you all the news therefore I will close. Give my Respects to all friends, My love to Father, Mother & rest of family & reserve a portion for your self. I am well.

To Rachael W Trundle

Your Affectionate Bro Joseph

Our Army is in good spirits and ready to fight at any time. They have unbounded confidence in Gen. Lee. I met with quite a loss the other day, some fellow was Kind enough to steal my horse, bridle, & saddle. I soon got another from an old Pennsylvania Dutchman who had his horses hid.

Your aff. Bro Jos. H Trundle

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Cotton Regency: The Northern Merchants and Reconstruction, 1865-1880. By GEORGE RUBLE WOOLFOLK. New York: Bookman Associates, 1958. 311. \$5.00.

This book could be used as Democratic campaign material. The Republican party is the villain. The author attempts a demonstrable proof of the Beardian thesis: that the northern masters of capital, shocked into a group political consciousness by the events of the Fifties, captured the Republican party, used it to cast the "iron dice of war," to drive the leaders of agrarianism from their citadel at Washington, and finally made the party an instrument to fasten the fetters of economic colonialism on King Cotton and his Dixie subjects.

Mr. Woolfolk, demonstrating an amazing capacity for research, has gathered a voluminous quantity of elusive and fragmentary material. His scholarship is irreproachable, and he presents a convincing picture in a style of clarity and precision.

The book's contribution is in exploring the split which appeared in the ranks of northern businessmen as they prepared to gather the fruits of victory. New Yorkers, free-traders with international banking connections and in traditional financial control of cotton, supported the Lincoln-Johnson policy of Restoration of the South. Free trade and free enterprise would soon rejuvenate the region and restore it to its former place in the Union, leaving New York in substantial control.

Philadelphians and the men of Boston had other plans. Determined to crush the financial giant on the Hudson, they formed an alliance in support of the radical Republicans to Reconstruct the South. Boston wanted protection for textiles and Philadelphia for her iron and steel interests. Both feared New York, English retaliation, and free trade. No less than the ante-bellum South they believed that cotton was king. They proposed to be regents in place of the deposed monarch and to use the national government to control the product. Control would intimidate England against retaliation for American tariffs. A cotton tax, levied in 1865, would in effect be a war indemnity for the North and ease the shock from any loss of import revenues. Enormous cotton production was essential to the plan. Mr. Woolfolk's most interesting documentation illustrates the plot hatched by a group of Savannah planters, General Howard, and Boston and Philadelphia merchants to create and use the Freedman's Bureau as an instrument to virtually re-enslave the Negroes to maintain production.

The plan operated from 1865 to 1868. It was defeated by poor crop

years, English independence from American cotton, and New England's desire for cheap British imperial sources of raw cotton. Boston defected and went over to free trade.

Stung and angry, Philadelphia sought help from the rising cities of the West—St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Louisville. The Pennsylvania railroad would be the backbone of the new system. At Detroit merchants of the new alliance created a national pressure group determined to overrule the states by the use of national governmental power. Congress was forced to make the inland lake and river cities original ports of entry thus making them competitive markets with New York.

But the western cities developed "urban imperialisms" of their own, sunk railroads, "steel syphons," into the South and by a combination of southern misfortunes and mistakes, such as the failure of the immigration policy, plus a zealous group of salesmen, the "Knights of the Bag," the western cities emerged triumphant and held the South in a state of commercial colonialism until 1880, when an industrial vassalage replaced it.

It's a convincing argument. Mr. Woolfolk tells it well. His documentation is all but overwhelming. If the Civil War and Reconstruction were classic examples of economic determinism then this book is of great importance in proving that theory.

But it completely ignores the worlds of Emerson or Henry Adams. It reduces humans to the "economic man" of the classicists, a theory Thorstein Veblen once had something to say about. It adopts the jargon of the socio-political-economists, a term Mr. Woolfolk enjoys, and by the use of such phrases as "group consciousness," and "urban imperialists" elevates a simple history of economic rivalry to the status of sociology. Again one doubts that American business suddenly became "group conscious" or even "national-minded" on the eve of or during the war. It had happened at least seventy years before. Kent Roberts Greenfield once remarked: "The economic interpretation of history is a bridge that many have built but few have crossed." They are still well-chosen words. Mr. Woolfolk's work is similar to Calhoun's *Disquisition on Government*. It is irresistible if you do not read the first page—where the assumptions are.

Two questions beg for answers. If the economic determinists are correct and the Republican party was a mere weapon of capital aggrandizement, using the Negro only as a pawn, must not such believers abandon punishment and revenge as motives for the reconstruction of the South? Yet they never do. Mr. Woolfolk glibly speaks of "the politics of vengeance."

And, if this entire theory of western supremacy is true, what ever happened to New York?

WILLIAM FORAN

University of South Carolina

Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills. By ROY FRANKLIN NICHOLS. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Revised Edition, 1958. xvii, 625 pp. \$8.50.

There are few historians who have such a profound knowledge of the political history of the 1850's as Professor Roy F. Nichols. For over thirty years he has published a constant stream of distinguished books and articles on the turbulent decade preceding the Civil War. His biography of Franklin Pierce, first published in 1931, has long been out of print. This second edition not only makes a valuable work again available but affords Professor Nichols an opportunity to make revisions in the light of new materials and further thought on the period.

Since the publication of the original work a number of manuscript collections have become available and several secondary works have been published that afford additional insight. One of the principal sources on Pierce that has come to light is the diary of Mrs. Abby Means, who was a companion to Mrs. Pierce while she lived in the White House. In the light of this and other sources alterations have been made throughout the book but the principal revision is an additional chapter entitled "Recasting a Stereotype."

In his reassessment Professor Nichols is concerned not with trying to prove that Pierce was a great President—this he realizes would be foolish—but with trying to show why he failed to meet the challenge posed by his great responsibilities. The stereotypes usually applied, that Pierce was weak and vacillating, are oversimplified and fail to take into consideration either a complexity of personal factors or the inherent difficulties of the times.

Like most men, Pierce's character was made up of a subtle blending of weaknesses and strength but at least until he became President he had managed his inner conflicts with a high degree of success. His married life had never been happy but he had sought and found compensation in a life of action. Never defeated for office he had risen from small town politics in New Hampshire to become President at the age of 48. He achieved this position only to meet with personal tragedy that undermined his will. During the winter of 1853 his third and last son died. Mrs. Pierce, who hated politics, chose to believe that her husband's ambition had been the cause of the boy's death, and proceeded to make herself an invalid and recluse. According to Nichols, in the short space of two months, Pierce had lost his son, his wife, and his capacity to command success. This personal tragedy was compounded by a shifting political situation of such complexity that neither Pierce nor any of his advisers fully comprehended it or were able to cope with it. There is no space in a short review even to summarize Professor Nichols' penetrating observations of the shifting political, economic and social currents of the 1850's but he concludes that "It was Pierce's misfortune to be elected to the chief-magistracy at a moment when probably no one was prepared for it or when no one could have occupied it successfully." (p. 544)

HARRY L. COLES

Ohio State University

Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion. By ROBERT D. BASS. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959. x, 275 pp. \$4.50.

He appeared suddenly, and almost as suddenly rose to fame.

"Col. Marion, a gentleman of South Carolina, had been with the army a few days, attended by a very few followers, distinguished by small leather caps, and the wretchedness of their attire," Maryland's Otho Holland Williams wrote. "Their number did not exceed twenty men and boys, some white, some black, and all mounted, but most of them miserably equipped; their appearance was in fact so burlesque, that it was with much difficulty the diversion of the regular soldiery was restrained by the officers. . . ."

That was probably the last time American soldiers laughed at Francis Marion. Tarleton laughed a little longer—not much. As this "ragged little guerrilla . . . moved like a fox through the swamps of eastern Carolina," his legend grew. It has grown so tall by our time that the great man stands in its shadow.

It would be pleasant to be able to say that he emerges in this book. But needed material was simply lacking. The early-life sources are touched with Mason Weems' genius, the later ones almost purely military. "He was reserved and silent," wrote Light Horse Harry Lee, who knew him better than most people, "entering into conversation only when necessary. . . ." This non-conversationalist was a non-letter-writer, too. Unmarried until a few years before his death, he lacked the most logical recipients of revealing letters. His personality may not really have been thin, meager, and dry, as the unprepossessing little man was physically—but what could Doctor Bass do?

He did very well, both negatively and positively. He did not embroider; he did research thoroughly, weigh the evidence, follow the approved military authorities, and write very competently indeed.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Kentucky

The Johns Hopkins Hospital and The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine: A Chronicle, Volume II 1893-1905. By ALAN M. CHESNEY. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. xiv, 499 pp. \$6.00.

This book is the work of an enthusiast, a meticulous, honest enthusiast whose dedication to medicine stems from the heart of the subject matter which he presents. From exhaustive study of all of the early records of the hospital and medical school and their Boards of Trustees, and, quite obviously, from a great deal of collateral research into hitherto untouched

resources the author and former dean of the medical school has relived those exciting and sometimes troublesome early years in order to give each fact its proper value in this chronicle.

Whenever Dr. Chesney says "it is fitting, therefore, that we should pause for a moment in our story to say something about so and so" the reader may relax and enjoy a bit of charming biography. This sort of thing happens all through the book and, except for the fact that the characters all seem to shine with a legendary patina, the author's kindly authenticity cannot be doubted. He includes short sketches of almost every individual who was connected with these two interlocking institutions either as trustees, director, visiting physician, faculty or student. It is little wonder that fifteen years elapsed between the appearance of Volume I and Volume II. The wonder is that so much accurate and important information has been amassed and put forth so pleasantly. The fact that the twin Johns Hopkins institutions initiated higher standards of pre-medical education, the absorption into the actual hospital work of the medical students themselves, the eager search after scientific advance in pre-clinical and clinical subjects, the beginning of the residency system in hospitals and the close association between student and teacher, not only produced a thrilling project of which to be a part, but also redirected the thinking of medical education throughout the country.

During the marvelous never-to-be-equalled first decade of this precocious infant medical school (the book actually covers 1.2 decades) the successful leap into top flight clinical education with at the same time the introduction of science into every phase of medical achievement continued to gain unique momentum. As one reads of the men and women who acted their part on this new stage, a few of them giants in the medical world, but most of them merely highly intelligent people fired by a new enthusiasm, the glow that surrounded those early clinics seems to linger on. The author alludes to the many biographies and autobiographies of this group which have been published during the last thirty years. He makes no attempt to compete with these, but what he does do in a surprisingly satisfactory manner is to fit all of these people into a splendid new-type organization. The end of this epoch was marked by the resignation of Dr. Osler, Professor of Medicine, in order to accept a much less arduous but traditionally distinguished position as Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford University, England.

Dr. Welch and Dr. Mall seem to have dominated the first few years while the First Class was advancing year by year to make room for subsequent classes. Soon Dr. Osler was thrilling every one with his clinical demonstrations and was initiating clinical-pathological and statistical studies of disease which caught the imagination of all whom he contacted. And what a prodigious worker he was. Soon, also Kelly was brilliantly developing gynecology into a specialty and giving his own money to help build separate operating rooms and wards. But Halsted's influence was subtle and unobtrusive and his research painstakingly fundamental. Only the chosen few close pupils could realize that his were the revolutionary contributions to surgery that were to start a new era and a new school of surgeons.

The restrained account of these twelve momentous years in the life of the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine will serve as a reference source to medical historians for generations to come. The text is illustrated by over one hundred photographs and includes a complete index.

The importance of this book springs from the importance of the epoch that is described, but the charm and interest spring from the author's complete familiarity with the subject which has resulted from years of intensive and far reaching study and historical research. One wonders whether other volumes can be as significant and satisfying as Volume II. We can only hope that now that Dean Chesney has retired from the arduous administrative duties of his office he will be able rapidly to produce Volume III. There can be no doubt that each new volume will enhance the value of the preceeding ones.

HENRY M. THOMAS, JR., M. D.

Baltimore, Md.

Maryland in World War II: Volume III, Home Front Volunteer Services.

Prepared for the State of Maryland by the War Records Division of the Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore: War Records Division of the Maryland Historical Society, 1958. xii, 288 pp. \$3.00.

This is the fourth and final volume in the *Maryland in World War II* series to be published as a part of the program originally suggested to preserve the record of Maryland's participation in World War II. Volume I which dealt with the military aspects of the war appeared in 1950. Volume II which concerned industry and agriculture was printed in 1951. Volume IV which contained the gold star honor roll was published in 1956. This book, although the fourth in order of publication, is, therefore, the third in the series.

This present volume describes the principal means through which Marylanders carried on many types of activities to help win the war successfully on the home front. In general, these centered around fund raising campaigns, Red Cross services, hospitality to war workers and service people, war relief, civilian defense, and OPA work. All of these efforts played a major role in the maintenance of morale and aided many thousands of people both at home and abroad.

This study sums up quite well what Marylanders did at home during World War II. The book was prepared under difficulties. The War Records Division found itself handicapped by incomplete or lost records, so the story had to be reconstructed through personal interviews. The gaps in its documentation suggest what action must be taken for future studies to supplement existing historical records through a comprehensive program using the techniques of oral history.

The book also has several defects. It is first of all, a list of those persons

who served. It has neither an index nor any sort of bibliography which renders it nearly useless. It does not sum up or explain the significance of Maryland's World War II effort through any sort of interpretation. Nevertheless, the completion of this publication program does preserve for all time a well-rounded story of how our people reacted in a period of great stress and strain and contributed their best efforts to win history's most destructive war.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

History of Charles County, Maryland. By MARGARET BROWN KLAPTHOR and PAUL DENNIS BROWN. La Plata, Md.; Charles County Tercentenary, Inc., 1958. xi, 204 pp. \$3.00.

The publication of a systematic record of past events and the people and places associated with them in a county of Maryland always is welcomed. As a matter of fact, a full account of old and event-rich Charles County has long been awaited. The *History of Charles County*, written as a part of the Tercentenary Year, 1958, Celebration by Margaret Brown Klapthor and Paul Dennis Brown, a father-daughter team, fulfills a need. Students will find in it provocative and challenging material for much added research. Written in a popular, readable style, the authors obviously did not intend it to be definitive or exhaustive.

The pride of the authors over being born and brought up in Charles County, together with life-time efforts toward advancing the County's interests, creeps in, if at all, only in a veiled way except for inference in the dedicatory statement, of very old vintage, that special divine help is needed if one isn't a native or at least a citizen: "To Charles County, God Bless You!"

Reviewers feel compelled to look for possible deficiencies along with the high points in their effort to appraise a book. In this work, due perhaps in no small part to limitations imposed by a time table necessitating that it be brought out at the peak of the Tercentenary, 1958, Celebration, the influence of the County's planters on the philosophy of government, on education, on politics, on business, on religion and on statesmanship, has not been developed as might be desired. Surely such influence was great, as indicated in part by the four colonial governors, The First President of the United States in Congress Assembled, the Signer, top military and navy leaders, a Surgeon General, a university president, cabinet members, judges, State governors and many, many other top leaders in about all fields. This lack is compensated for in part by inclusion in Appendix No. 2 of a full and illuminating list of Countians of Promise, the like of which many, many far bigger units of government can not boast.

In addition, the role of Charles County women, from the *first* First Lady of the Land, Jane Contee Hanson, to the mammie or to the colored cook

who prepared sumptuous meals that made for wide acclaim, has not been made manifest. Comparatively little treatment has been given to the big part Negroes played in the development of the County, the population of which reached its great height at the peak of slave-holding. However, a volume so modest in size, 200 pages, covering so long a period, over 300 years, should not be expected to be all inclusive. The warm understanding of the County imparted by the authors goes far to offset such matters. The book departs from procedure in many local histories in that Rent Rolls and columns of population statistics are not carried. Sources of same, along with freely and extensively used records and materials, including manuscripts, notes and correspondence in private hands (of which there are several, and new sources), are carefully documented, along with over-all precise indexing and a full bibliography.

The present work suffers from failure to have adequate syntax consideration and proof reading. Its illustrations might well have been more numerous, especially as regards the superb, but expendable, old homes about which the noted architect, Dr. Henry C. Forman, says "in this county flourishes three well-defined types or styles of building . . . the Mattawoman Creek type, the Port Tobacco type and the Cobb Neck type." It is doubtful that any county, here or elsewhere, is more greatly blessed by such pleasing and notable "living" representatives of a great period in America, thus their documentation and having them pin-pointed on the sparsely filled map that was used might well have served additional worthwhile purposes generations hence when, history repeating itself, fire and ravages of time will have taken their toll.

Publication of *History of Charles County* leaves but five counties of the twenty-three in Maryland without such printed records. Perhaps they should be named—Calvert, Howard, St. Mary's, Wicomico and Worcester. The history of the first-named has been prepared and shortly will be published. Carroll, Garrett and Montgomery counties are reported jointly as a part of Scharf's *History of Western Maryland*. May this latest contribution to a better understanding and a greater appreciation of Maryland, her institutions, contributions and way of life broadly be an inspiration to the end of having the abundant though scattered information on the four unreported counties organized, printed and shared with a waiting public.

REGINALD V. TRUITT

Stevensville, Md.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PARKER GENEALOGICAL AWARDS

The following winners of the prizes in the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Genealogical Contest for 1958 have been announced by the judges. *First Prize* (\$45): Mrs. Alexandra Lee Levin, "The Family of James Beall, Sr. . . ."; *Second Prize* (\$25): Mr. Albert Augustus Selden, "The Duckett Lineage"; *Third Prize* (\$15): Mr. Edward E. Marsh, "The Marsh Family of Maryland." Special honorable mention was given Mrs. Arthur Armstrong for her "History of the Jessop Family." Judges for the contest were Mrs. Norris Harris, Mr. A. Russell Slagle, and Prof. Walter B. Norris.

The closing date for the 1959 contest will be December 31 next. Entries should preferably be typed and in easily usable form. All entries become the property of the Society.

Wilmington, Del.—Emile F. du Pont, president of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, has announced a gift to the foundation of a library to be devoted to the history of American industry in this area from its earliest colonial beginnings down to modern times. It will be named the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library.

The gift, from the Longwood Foundation established by the late Pierre S. du Pont, will include a building to be constructed by the Longwood Foundation on the grounds of the original Du Pont powder mills along the west bank of Brandywine Creek near here. The grounds, which have long been abandoned for manufacturing purposes, are being opened to the public and developed as a park and major Delaware historical site by the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation. The first mills, for the manufacture of commercial explosives, were built there by Eleuthère Irénée du Pont de Nemours, who founded the Du Pont Company in 1802.

Also included in the gift is a collection of books, manuscripts and other historic papers from the Longwood Library, created by Pierre S. du Pont who took a keen interest over many years in gathering these materials. The most important part of the library is a collection of books and du Pont letters and manuscripts donated by Henry Francis du Pont from the collection of his father, the late Colonel Henry A. du Pont, and by other members of the du Pont family.

The Longwood collection will be combined with the library of Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation. The latter collection is most notable for its holding of the historic archives of the Du Pont Company for the first century of the company's existence, 1802-1902. But it also contains

an important reference collection dealing with early American industry as well as some notable gifts of books and papers from members of the du Pont family.

Construction of the building will start early this summer, and it should be ready for public use by the summer of 1960.

Dr. Powhatan Clarke—I am interested in any information about Doctor Powhatan Clarke, who retired from the Baltimore City College in 1908. He was on the first staff of Louisiana State University, 1860. Would anyone who knows some of the details of Doctor Clarke's life communicate with me at the English Department, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.?

JOHN EARLE UHLER,
Class of 1909,
Baltimore City College

John Lucas—Information is wanted on the parents of John Lucas, born in Prince George's County (1757?), enlisted at Bladenburg, wounded at Germantown, operated a boat on the Potomac River, and died February 5, 1826.

MRS. SARAH LUCAS,
3612 Veazey Street, N. W.,
Washington, 8, D. C.,

Iron industry in Maryland—I am writing a history of the colonial and ante-Bellum iron industry of Maryland and would appreciate any information leading to manuscript material pertaining to the industry.

S. SYDNEY BRADFORD,
1507 Bolton Street,
Baltimore 17, Md.

CONTRIBUTORS

MILTON RUBINCAM is the author of several historical articles published in state journals. He is currently preparing a biography of William Rittenhouse, the first American paper-maker, for the Pennsylvania German Society. He is on the editorial boards of the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* and *The American Genealogist*. He has been a member of the Foreign Service Operations Staff of the United States Department of Commerce since 1947.

S. SYDNEY BRADFORD is a member of the National Park Service, Historical Branch. He was director of the Historical and Archeological Research project on Fort McHenry and is currently engaged in research for the restoration of Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

CLARA P. MCMAHON is assistant professor of education at Johns Hopkins University and director of the Division of Education at McCoy College. She is a student of the history of medieval education and has written *Education in Fifteenth-Century England* (1947). She has contributed articles on the history of education to scholarly journals.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Report for 1958

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR our society the year 1958 was one of greatly increased activity and substantial progress. Following this statement are reports of our different committees touching on various aspects of our work. During the year, the Society received the following additions to its endowment funds:

Estate of Harry C. Black.....	\$65,714
" " Mrs. Laurence R. Carton.....	5,000
" " Mrs. Samuel K. Dennis.....	1,000
" " Miss Virginia A. Wilson.....	7,868
Second distribution of A. Morris Tyson.....	59,673

Eight meetings for the general membership, including one afternoon meeting, were held.

Your president, the director and other members of the staff have made numerous addresses before schools, clubs and societies in Baltimore and elsewhere in the state and outside of Maryland. Calls upon the society for help in research projects and guidance in historical investigation have been increasingly numerous. In every case we have tried to share our experience and specialized knowledge.

The usefulness of the rich collections of our library and gallery have again and again been proven during the year and have justified the hopes of our founders 115 years ago.

Following the resignation of Mr. John H. Scarff as Director of the Historic Road Marker Program, this work was re-activated on July 1, 1958, under the part-time direction of Mr. Harold Manakee. He began by familiarizing himself with the files of historical material built up by his predecessors over a period of years and by establishing liaison with State Roads Commission officials who will cooperate in erecting and maintaining the markers. Mr. Manakee also made several field trips to distant parts of the state. State funds sufficient for about 10 new markers yearly are allocated directly to the society which considers marker requests, does the historical research, and approves the marker texts. Markers already installed require some attention. All work is done for the state at cost.

For many years the society has received invaluable assistance from the ladies of its membership. They have been generous with gifts and have helped in various ways. Recently a woman's committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. W. Irvine Keyser, Jr. has been organized and is rendering us vigorous and constant assistance. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Frank F. Beirne, committees of historical societies in various parts of Maryland have been holding annual meetings at our society where carefully planned programs have been carried out. Our society has always been benefited by the interest of younger people. Members of the Junior League of Baltimore have acted as volunteer guides for several years. Some of the organizations of young women in Baltimore are helping as volunteers. Recently a group of young men under the chairmanship of Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins has been organized as a Special Projects Committee which is operating energetically and very effectively.

The society has endeavored for a long time to put its books and manuscripts in better physical condition and to make them more readily available. We expect to devote more and more time and money to their care. We will be very grateful to you for your cooperation in helping us do so.

For years our buildings seem to have been adequate for our needs. Now we are beginning to be crowded and are developing plans for a large construction program on property which we own adjoining our present home. We are very grateful for the never-ending confidence and encouragement which you have given us, and we ask for your continued confidence.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *President*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

Reports of the Gallery and Library Committees show the progress made in those divisions during the year, and indicate some of the important accessions. These have already been supplemented by news of current accessions in the Society's quarterly bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*. Receipt of the J. Hall Pleasants collection of research materials on painting and painters in Maryland, and the trunkful of Wirt family papers from Mrs. W. Bladen Lowndes were the high points of the year's accessions.

Tours of school children under the general supervision of Mr. Manakee with the assistance of a team of Junior League guides directed by Mrs. Arthur W. Sherwood, brought nearly 10,000 visitors in the course of the year. To them must be added the tours given clubs and special groups by appointment and daily visitors arriving from all parts of the Union. The total of these visitors to the Library and Museum during the year

was about 7,000. Besides meetings of the Society and of its Council and committees, there were 23 meetings of other groups within the building.

Typical of materials sought by scholars, authors of books and journalists who visited our Library for research purposes during the year, nearly all of whom were loud in their testimony of the importance of their findings, were letters of James Madison, Baltimore Riot of 1861, Amelung glass, early shipbuilding in Baltimore, pottery made in Maryland, Fort St. Inigoes, histories of Calvert and Somerset Counties, and the history of Towson.

Mr. John D. Kilbourne became Librarian on July 1, succeeding Dr. Francis C. Haber, who entered upon the teaching profession at the University of Florida. The resignation of Dr. Haber necessitating the appointment of a new editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Dr. Richard Walsh, assistant professor of history at Georgetown University, was named and took up his duties in June. Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins on the same date became assistant editor of the *Magazine* and public relations officer. The death of Miss Florence J. Kennedy on January 5 closed her association of 35 years as a librarian.

The Society is under greater obligation than ever to a devoted group of volunteers who are largely responsible for the smooth running of the organization. To the four women and two men who have consistently given time throughout the year and to the 12 young women of the Junior League who have assisted with school tours the Society is deeply indebted.

The committees organized during the year show the broadening of the Society's influence and contacts throughout the State. These are the Women's Committee, formed in the spring by Mrs. George W. Williams, Mrs. Francis F. Beirne and Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, II. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Keyser, this group of 26 sponsored, on November 20, a successful tea for new members. Their program includes having a hostess at each meeting of the Society, encouraging new members to join, assisting with the preparation of exhibitions, maintaining a clipping file and scrapbooks, and clerical work. The Special Projects Committee, consisting of 14 young men, organized in the fall under the chairmanship of Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins, is developing a program of events appealing to larger numbers of people with a view to interesting them in the Society's work. A Chesapeake Bay cruise is planned for those interested in learning more about the natural and civil history of the Bay, June 6, 1959.

During the year the Society published two books: *Home Front Volunteer Services*, the final volume in the series "Maryland in World War II," and *William Buckland* by Mrs. Beirne and Mr. Scarff. The second printing of *My Maryland* was nearly exhausted and a third printing of 8,000 copies was ordered.

Members of the staff made 25 talks to outside groups including radio and TV appearances. The Society has received excellent publicity throughout the year. Its activities have been featured in numerous special articles in the daily press and occasional articles in Maryland and national periodicals.

JAMES W. FOSTER, *Director*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

The duties of your Committee on Finance are to advise the Society in the management of its overall finances and the management of endowment funds given or left to the Society by members and friends to provide facilities and income to keep alive the historical and cultural development of Maryland.

In managing the Society's finances, your Committee's goal is to keep the Society's expenditures in line with its income. The increase in the book value of the Society's endowment since 1956, as shown in the following table, is due to legacies received from Harry C. Black, Mrs. Samuel K. Dennis, A. Morris Tyson, Miss Virginia A. Wilson, Miss Florence J. Kennedy and Mrs. Laurence R. Carton, and gains realized on sale of securities.

BOOK VALUE OF ENDOWMENT INVESTMENTS AND NET INCOME FROM ENDOWMENT INVESTMENTS AND LEGACIES, DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

	1958	1957	1956
Book Value of Endowment	814,714	653,638	482,789
Net Income, Endowment, Etc.	33,088	29,392	26,385
Dues	27,847	27,313	17,072
Contributions	1,923	6,446	3,050

Your Committee believes every effort should be made to preserve and increase the Society's endowment. In handling investments, we seek to obtain the largest possible income that can be produced by prudent management of the investment account. We also seek reasonable growth of both principal and income.

In 1959, your Committee believes special efforts should be made to increase the Society's income from dues and contributions.

JACOB FRANCE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

The Society's headquarters required during the year 1958 somewhat heavier expenditures than had been anticipated in the budget.

In addition to repairs to the roof of the library and to the gutters and spouting of the Pratt mansion, it was found necessary to paint the cornices and trim of the building. Expenditures for these purposes amounted to \$3,911.00. Minor repairs, in addition to the above, brought the total expenditure for the year to \$4,119.00.

In other respects the properties of the Society, including the leased apartment houses on Monument Street, are in good condition.

LUCIUS WHITE, JR., *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

The extraordinary collection of photographs of portraits of Marylanders, the studies of Maryland artists, and a collection of books, pamphlets and exhibition catalogs from the estate of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants greatly enriched the Society's research facilities. A full description of this important acquisition was given in the May, 1958, issue of *Maryland History Notes*.

From the estate of Dr. Sothoron Key of Washington, D. C. the Society received a considerable collection of furniture, china, silver and brass. Particularly interesting was the set of four matching candlesticks bearing the crest of the Key family and showing the hallmark of William Cafe of London, 1759-60.

Six pieces of mahogany furniture from Portland Manor, Anne Arundel Co., were presented by Mrs. Richard Bennett Darnall. These consist of a tilt-top table and hall bench originally used at Susquehanna Manor, St. Mary's Co.; a Chippendale settee, a tall case clock, and a pair of Sheraton drop-leaf tables. An Empire side chair matching those given the Society many years ago by the late J. B. Noel Wyatt was presented by Mrs. Gerald Hoare-Smith. The Society also received a curly maple desk and a Windsor chair from the late Dr. George Dobbin Brown; a pine "milk bench," a cream skimmer, pair of mugs, mortar and pestle, and pepper grinder, all of wood, from Dr. James Bordley, III; a pair of gilt candle holders from the Maryland Division, U. D. C.; an ornate bronze mantel clock and matching pair of large candelabra, presented by the city of New Orleans to Commodore George N. Hollins, C. S. A., given by Mrs. H. Cavendish Darrell; and a secretary desk, card table and cradle made by William Minifie from Mr. C. Herbert Baxley.

Oil portraits received during the year included those of Commodore Joseph James Nicholson, unattributed, from the estate of Mrs. Robert F.

Brent; President Franklin Pierce by John R. Johnston, presented by Mr. Francis A. Weiskittel; Martha Neale by John Wollaston, from Mrs. Darnall; and Lizzie and Willie Penrose by F. T. Sloss, gift of Mrs. William Penrose through the Misses Kaji. A pastel portrait of Miss Ellen Mackubin by her sister, the late Florence Mackubin, and one of an unknown woman were given by Mrs. George Thomas. Miniatures received were those of Commodore and Mrs. Nicholson, by Anna C. Peale, also from the estate of Mrs. Brent, and two of Mary Oden, presented by Mrs. F. Clarke Dugan.

A watercolor view of Baltimore in 1800 and a wash drawing of the town in 1752, both unattributed, were presented by Mrs. John Morley-Fletcher. Two fruit pieces in oil, one signed "M. A. Peale," and the other "Sarah M. Peale, 1828," came from the estate of Miss Virginia Appleton Wilson and a watercolor of the interior of the bath house at Warm Springs, Va. by J. H. B. Latrobe was received from Capt. W. Claiborne Latrobe. Five cartoons by the late McKee Barclay were presented by Mrs. Frank R. Kent.

A silver pitcher made by Kirk from Mrs. Summerfield Baldwin, another from the estate of Miss Wilson, a silver salver made in London before the American Revolution and a silver teapot by Kirk from Mrs. Darnall, and two silver teaspoons and a tablespoon from Mrs. Henry Zoller, Jr., together with a gold fob seal of Gabriel Christie, were among other interesting gifts.

Two Delft jars, one inscribed with the name "Baltimore," probably used for tobacco or snuff, were presented by the Hendler Foundation.

The Society during the year held exhibitions on the following themes: heraldry; naval and maritime views; recent accessions; political cartoons; the War of 1812; American patriotic sculpture, paintings and drawings of John H. B. Latrobe; fire-fighting equipment of early days, mainly consisting of loans from the Baltimore Equitable Society; and Christmas toys and dolls.

An exhibition honoring the late Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who so signally contributed to the Society's expansion in the field of painting and other arts, was jointly arranged by the Maryland Historical Society and the Baltimore Museum of Art. It opened at the Baltimore Museum on December 2, 1958, and continued to January 18, 1959. A catalog of the paintings and silver shown in the exhibition, which represented the major contributions of Dr. Pleasants to the knowledge of our cultural heritage, was published. Loans to the exhibition were made by several important museums of the country as well as the sponsoring agencies, local institutions, and many generous individuals.

One afternoon meeting was held, at which the speaker was Mr. Edwin Tunis, who talked on "Domestic Life in Early America."

Mr. John D. Zimmerman, working as a volunteer, rearranged and labeled the collection of arms and the exhibits in the Confederate Room.

Loans made during the year totaled 19, most of them to institutions holding special exhibitions in honor of anniversaries of historic events.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

There is little that we can add to Mr. Kilbourne's careful analysis of the work of the Library for the year 1958 which follows:

Employed personnel at the end of 1958 included: Librarian, John D. Kilbourne; Assistant Librarians, Miss A. Hester Rich and F. Garner Ranney; Indexer, Miss Elizabeth Merritt; and Secretary, Mrs. Forrest W. Lord. Dr. Francis C. Haber, who had been Librarian of the Society and Editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* since 1955, left the Society on 15 May to become a member of the faculty of the University of Florida. He was succeeded by John D. Kilbourne on 1 July. Other Staff members included Frank F. White, Jr., as a general assistant, from 24 April to 30 September, and David G. Fischer from 4 July to 30 September. In addition, Miss Louisa M. Gary has continued as Restorer, while the efforts of these employees have been assisted by the volunteer help of Miss Mary C. Hiss, Miss Florence R. Kelley, Miss Edith V. Thompson, Mrs. W. T. Dixon Gibbs, Mrs. William F. Bevan, and others whose work has been more sporadic than that of those named.

During the year some 602 lots of material were accessioned in the library; of these, 99 are entirely or mostly of genealogical interest, including charts, manuscripts and coats of arms. Among the most notable collections received were the Pleasants, Wirt, Latrobe, Wilson, Brent and Preston manuscripts.

During the year 833 volumes were catalogued, which represents a fair average processing of both new and backlog material. It has been found possible to release Miss Rich from Library attendance duties during most of each morning, with a correspondingly encouraging increase in the number of volumes catalogued. It is hoped that it will now be possible to bring the number of volumes catalogued up to at least 75 per month. At the present time, all newly-published books are completely processed within, at most, a month.

Of the major collections indexed, the most important was the collection of Pinkney Papers. Cataloging of the F. S. Key and Gibson-Maynadier papers continues; both are small collections, but important. A complete index to the broadsides is now available, the most notable addition being

the McHenry broadsides. More than two hundred cards were added to this index during the year. The index to all volumes of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is completed to date and is entered in the file. Work on the Dielman file continues satisfactorily, while the work on the map collection has resulted in a very good index of the Society's collection of Maryland maps, with cross references.

Throughout the year the capable services of Miss Louisa Gary have been fully utilized in our constant race with time, deterioration and destructive usage of manuscripts and other valuable library material. Miss Gary devotes three days each week to this work, and it is a pleasure to extol its quality. Some of the Society's possessions which were restored in 1958 were: diaries of B. H. Latrobe, five volumes, 1796—1816; Rent-rolls, tax lists and land papers from the Scharf Collection, 100 fascicles; Wm. Pinkney Letterbook, 1807-1808, one volume; Port of Annapolis entries and exits, 2 volumes.

It is obvious that much of the time of the Staff is spent assisting patrons in the reading room, the majority of whom are concerned with genealogy. One of the important classes of our work is the acquisition, arranging, and filing of the materials required. During the year, the Sears, Goldsborough, Dorsey, Staige-Davis, and Mrs. Harvey Thomas genealogical collections were all processed and integrated.

Between one-fourth and one-third of the time of the Library Staff is spent attending to the wants of persons frequenting the reading-room or inquiring by mail or telephone. With the exception of idle inquirers, or those with contest questions, it has been found necessary to go into every inquiry in considerable detail in order to have a complete understanding of the problem.

* * *

From the standpoint of general policy, it should be said that, beginning with April 10, 1956, this Committee has asked the Council for future special annual allowances for the time being of \$7,500.00 in order to accomplish "a complete over-hauling of the Library, including rebinding of books, repair of manuscripts, and additional personnel to index accumulated manuscripts."

We are receiving almost daily additions to our collections of books and manuscripts. These require indexing and frequently repairing. Also many of our old books and manuscripts require attention. Additional funds are required to do the job.

Modified approval of our 1956 recommendation was indicated when the Council, in late 1957, established the budget for the then coming year of 1958, and included an allowance in that 1958 budget of \$7,000 for the Library.

This budget item constituted an advance over the prior year of 1957 in which actual moneys expended totaled \$2,596.63.

The actual amount made available during 1958 to the Librarian's office (under the \$7,000 budget for 1958) was \$3,371. This was made up of \$2,239 which was paid to outside binders, and \$1,132.00 which was paid out for supplies.

The budget for the year 1959 includes a pro forma allowance of \$3,500 for both books and manuscripts for the year 1959.

For the year 1959 we recommend that the Society make available to the Library Committee an additional special actually-payable sum of \$7,500, to be used towards the over-haul of the books and manuscripts of the Library.

GEORGE ROSS VEAZEY, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

The regular four issues of the Maryland Historical Magazine appeared during the year. The September and November issues were prepared under the new editorship of Dr. Richard Walsh of Georgetown University with the assistance of Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins, as book review editor. The articles contained much variety and they seem to have won the general approval of the members. Four issues of the Society's bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, were edited by the director of the Society and served to acquaint the members with both accessions and current activities.

A third printing of the history for young people, *My Maryland*, was published, and orders continue to come in at a lively pace. The Society is able to maintain a low cost, namely \$3.15 per volume of 447 pages, thus supplying an important text for schools as well as a useful work for individuals, both young people and adults. In September appeared under the Society's imprint the book *William Buckland, 1734-1774: Architect of Virginia and Maryland*, written by two members of the Council, Mrs. Rosamond R. Beirne and Mr. John Scarff. Prepared for publication and seen through the press by the Director, this book was among the more ambitious undertakings of the Society's recent history. It was handsomely illustrated and printed. The first printing of 1,000 was almost exhausted at the end of the year and a second printing was ordered. Other publications of the Society continued in modest demand, especially back issues of the *Magazine* and of the *Archives*.

The editor reports that Volume 68 of the *Archives of Maryland* which consists of the proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland 1678-1679, is in press and should appear early in 1959.

Dr. Aubrey C. Land, the new Chairman of the Department of History of the University of Maryland, was elected to the committee to succeed Mr. Joseph Katz who died on October 13. Dr. Land's book, *The*

Dulanys of Maryland, is the third volume in the present Maryland History series published by the Society, and it is appropriate as it is pleasant to have him on the Committee.

CHARLES A. BARKER, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

January 1, 1958			
Honorary Members	2		
Life Members	49		
Active Members	2729	2780	
New members gained in 1958:			
Honorary	2		
Life	15		
Active	282		
Gained by Family membership.....	193	492	3272
Members lost in 1958:			
Deaths—Life	1		
Active	56	57	
Resignations and other losses	124		
County Society members		181	181
Net membership December 31, 1958			
As of December 31, 1958			3091
Honorary	4		
Life	63		
Active	3024		
			3091

CHARLES P. CRANE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

Meetings of the Society's members during the calendar year 1958 were as follows:

January 13—Joint meeting of the Society and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. Speaker, Mr. James Parton, publisher of *American Heritage*. Topic: "History as a Refuge from Today."

February 10—Annual Meeting. Informal talk by Judge W. Calvin Chesnut.

March 10—Dr. Arthur Adams, Librarian, New England Historic Genealogical Society. Topic: Heraldry: Its Romance and Its Use in America." Illustrated.

April 13—Dr. Richard Weigle, President, St. John's College and Historic Annapolis. Topic: "Interpreting Our Historic Background: A Progress Report on Annapolis."

June 9—Dr. Alan M. Chesney, Dean Emeritus of the Johns Hopkins Medical School. Topic: "The Origins of the Johns Hopkins Hospital." Illustrated.

October 15—Mrs. Francis F. Beirne and Mr. John H. Scarff spoke on the career of William Buckland, architect. Illustrated.

December 10—Dr. Felix Morley, former editor of the *Washington Post* and president of Haverford College. Topic: "The Vitality of History."

In the afternoon series, the first lecture, on January 21, was given by Mr. Edwin Tunis, illustrator and author of *Colonial Living, Oars, Sail and Steam*, etc. His topic was "Domestic Life in Early America." The second meeting, planned for February 18, was to have been the lecture by Dr. Arthur Adams referred to above, which had to be cancelled because of a severe snowstorm. Dr. Adams was good enough to shift the engagement to the evening of March 10.

JOHN E. SEMMES, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAR RECORDS

The publication in May, 1958, of *Maryland in World War II—Home Front Volunteer Services* completed a major phase of the War Records program. Previously published volumes bore the subtitles of (1) *Military Participation*; (2) *Industry and Agriculture* and (3) *Gold Star Honor Roll*. In addition, at the request of the Board of Public Works, the Division also prepared for publication and distributed *The History of the*

110th Field Artillery by John P. Cooper, Jr., and *History of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland)* by J. H. F. Brewer.

The remaining task is the compilation of an alphabetical register of Marylanders who served in World War II. At the year's end, of the total of about 250,000 names, those beginning with the letters "A" through "H" had been alphabetized. Names beginning with the letters "I" through "O" had been alphabetized except for interfiling a recently received (and final) lot of discharges, totaling about 15,000. The remainder had been alphabetized through the third or fourth letter of the last name. Publication of the register is planned, each entry to consist of name, rank at time of discharge, branch of service, serial number and home community.

Photostats of discharges and separations from service are in moderate but steady demand by agencies of the federal, state and local governments, veterans' organizations and individuals.

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

This Committee was called on to supply speakers for meetings of outside groups and we are indebted to Mr. Norman P. Ramsey who was kind enough to meet this need as occasion arose.

Your chairman was called upon to speak before the members of the Society at the Annual Meeting on February 10.

The membership of the Committee remained unchanged at the end of the year.

W. CALVIN CHESNUT, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES

The Committee was responsible for the Second Annual Conference of Historical Societies of Maryland on October 11. A full report of this all-day meeting was printed in the Society's bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, for November, 1958.

The principal address, that of Dr. Edward P. Alexander, Vice President of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for March, 1959. Other distinguished speakers were Dr. Aubrey C. Land, Chairman of the Department of History, University of Maryland; Mr. Earle W. Newton, Director, Museums and Historic Sites of Pennsyl-

vania; Mr. Max Chambers, former president of the Caroline County Historical Society; Mr. Ernest Howard, Historian of the Cecil County Historical Society; Dr. Richard Walsh, Editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*; Mrs. Margaret B. Klapthor, of the Smithsonian Institution; Mr. G. A. Van Lennep, Jr., of the Talbot County Historical Society; and Messrs. Harold R. Manakee, John D. Kilbourne and C. A. Porter Hopkins of the Society's staff.

The concensus of opinion was that the meeting had been highly successful and many valuable ideas had been expressed in this interchange. About 70 persons attended.

The Society has been host to the usual number of patriotic and affiliated societies that hold meetings throughout the year in the front parlor or the Gallery.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MARITIME COLLECTION

Gifts of unusual interest, including several notable ones, were received by the department. Among these should be mentioned six volumes of Fairburn's *Merchant Sail*, presented by the Fairburn Foundation, which gave the names and records of several thousand American vessels from earliest times. A model of the log canoe *Tom-Boy*, built by the late Robert Lambdin of St. Michaels, Maryland, was given by the late Herbert K. Dodson.

A model of the ship-sloop *Hornet*, third of the name, was made and presented by our acting curator, Mr. R. Hammond Gibson. The name-board of the tug *Chester*, of Baltimore, was presented by Capt. H. C. Jefferson. From Miss Mary Dorothy Hasselman, granddaughter of Maryland historian J. Thomas Scharf, came a watercolor of the C.S.S. *Patrick Henry*, formerly of the New York and Old Dominion Line.

Capt. H. C. Page, Jr. presented 148 cups and saucers from vessels recently entering the port of Baltimore. These were made in various parts of the world and bear the insignia, and often the coats of arms, of steamship lines and foreign countries.

Your Committee has been extremely fortunate in having the volunteer and highly competent services of Mr. Gibson in the work of the Maritime Museum. In addition to the gift mentioned above, he has repaired six ship models, supervised the making of a case for our model of the *Constellation*, and continued the cataloging of the maritime collection. Thanks are extended to him for his expert and constant attention. Others

who have made outstanding contributions in seeking gifts and directing the Society to valuable materials are Mr. H. Graham Wood, Mr. Richard H. Randall, Mr. Henry duPont Baldwin and Mr. S. Van Nort Chapman. Various members of our committee, to which Mr. August Mencken has recently been added, were very helpful through the year in consultations on the acceptance of material and its treatment. Considerable planning for the future of the Maritime Museum also was done, and we visualize a collection of even greater local and national distinction.

G. H. POWDER, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 31, 1958

Current Fund Assets

Current Assets

Cash in Bank	\$ 5,231.90
Petty Cash	100.00
Due from Endowment Fund	24,976.77

TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS \$ 30,308.67

Fixed Assets

Real Estate	\$100,450.00
Books	1.00
Paintings and Stationery	1.00
Manuscripts and Prints	1.00
Furniture and Fixtures	\$286.00
Less Depreciation Allowance	228.00
	58.00

TOTAL FIXED ASSETS \$100,511.00

TOTAL CURRENT FUND ASSETS \$130,819.67

Endowment Fund

Cash Corpus	\$ 2,151.55
Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society	90.00
Mortgage Receivable	52,140.25
Due from Special Funds	5,000.00
Real Estate	316,614.76
Bonds	62,748.09
Stocks	158,790.50
Ground Rents	666.66

TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND ASSETS \$598,201.81

Daingerfield Fund Assets

Cash Corpus	\$ 210.34
Bonds	65,849.04
Stocks	87,044.07

TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ASSETS \$153,103.45

Wild Fund

Cash Corpus	\$ 368.60
Bonds	30,000.00
Stocks	31,734.11
Ground Rent	1,307.00

TOTAL WILD FUND ASSETS \$ 63,409.71

\$945,534.64

Current Fund Liabilities

Current Liabilities

Special Fund Account \$ 1,007.25

Net Worth

Surplus (Schedule #1)..... \$129,812.42

TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES and NET WORTH.. \$130,819.67

Endowment Funds

Due to General Fund	\$ 24,976.77
Endowment Fund (Schedule #2)	573,225.04

TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND \$598,201.81

Daingerfield Fund \$153,103.45

TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND \$153,103.45

Wild Fund \$ 63,409.71

TOTAL WILD FUND \$ 63,409.71

\$945,534.64

STATEMENT OF CURRENT FUND SURPLUS
DECEMBER 31, 1958

Balance—January 1, 1958 \$140,934.60

Deduct

Excesses of Expenditures over Income \$ 11,122.18

Balance—December 31, 1958 \$129,812.42

STATEMENT OF ENDOWMENT FUND
DECEMBER 31, 1958

Balance—January 1, 1958 \$394,789.74

Add

A. Morris Tyson Estate	\$98,406.31
Harry C. Black Estate	66,429.42
Virginia Appleton Wilson	7,845.96
Elizabeth Whyte Carton Estate	5,000.00
Life Memberships	900.00
Gain on Sale of Securities	46.20

\$178,627.89

\$573,417.63

Deduct

Commissions paid to Fidelity-Baltimore National Bank	\$ 192.59
Balance—December 31, 1958	<u>\$573,225.04</u>

GENERAL FUND

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS

*for the year ended December 31, 1958**Income*

Dues	\$27,847.10	
Contributions	1,923.18	
Investments		
Endowment Fund	\$8,018.35	
Daingerfield Fund	7,807.31	
Wild Fund	2,641.20	
A. Morris Tyson	54.12	\$18,520.98
Legacies		
H. Oliver Thompson Estate	\$1,571.24	
Jane Cook Estate	649.78	\$ 2,221.02
Publications		
Sales General	\$2,690.95	
Advertising	1,084.70	
Star-Spangled Banner	148.77	
My Maryland	8,727.50	\$12,651.92
Miscellaneous Income		
Service Charges and Fees	\$ 230.66	
Rent—Scott House	4,506.50	
Rent—614-616 Park Avenue	9,450.00	
Rent—Other Property	2,640.00	
Other Income	2,003.20	\$18,830.36
TOTAL INCOME		<u>\$81,994.56</u>

Expenses

Addresses	\$ 1,396.07
Building Supplies	829.30
Binding and Other Repairs	1,082.16
Books and Manuscripts	1,666.74
Commissions	945.69
Depreciation	28.50
Gallery	638.56
Heat and Electricity	3,425.42
Insurance	2,924.70
Memberships	300.18
Maintenance and Repairs	4,118.57
My Maryland Publication	13,331.57
Miscellaneous Expenses and Supplies	2,000.75
Main Building Equipment	841.79

Office Supplies	888.57	
Postage	192.32	
Publications	9,034.27	
Salaries	44,042.18	
Scott House Expense	1,373.66	
Morris House Expense	525.00	
Taxes—Social Security	1,241.06	
Taxes—Property	1,117.45	
Telephone	1,172.23	
TOTAL EXPENSES		\$93,116.74
EXCESS of EXPENDITURES over INCOME		\$11,122.18

April Twentieth
Nineteen Hundred Fifty Nine

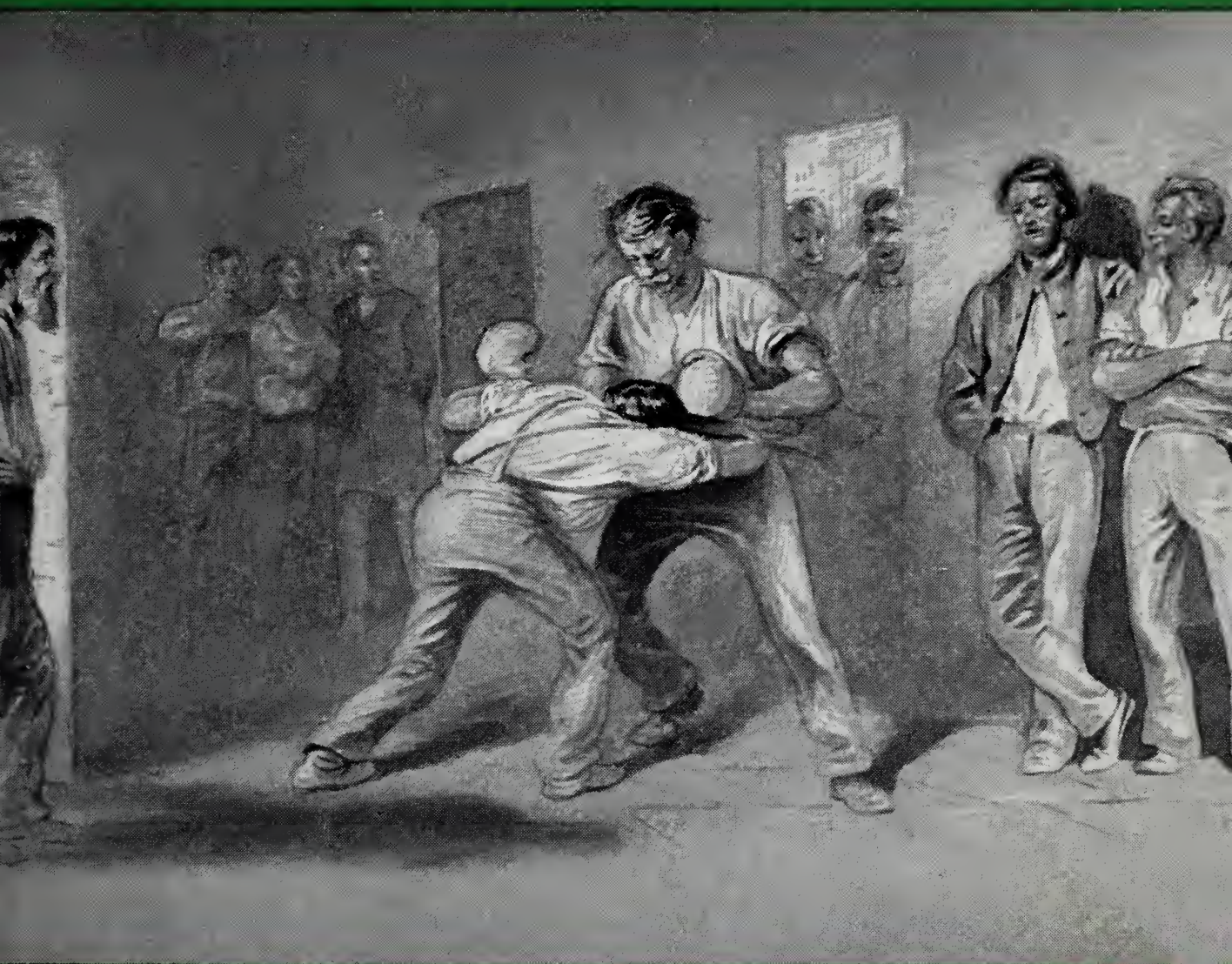
Maryland Historical Society
Baltimore, Maryland

We have examined the Balance Sheet and related Statement of Operations of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland as of December 31, 1958. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we deemed necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying Balance Sheet and related Statement of Operations fairly present the financial position of the Maryland Historical Society at December 31, 1958, and the result of operations for the year ended on that date, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT W. BLACK
Certified Public Accountant

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Confederate Boxing Match at Fort Delaware.

From a sketch by Allen C. Redwood.

See pages 293-295.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

September • 1959



What's beneath the surface?

A man—his son—and a boat. It's a golden moment—one we'd all like to have last forever. But you, the man, grow older—and your son grows up. Now is the time to provide for his future, and for the rest of your family too. We will be pleased to discuss with you and your attorney the advantages of creating a Trust Fund either during your lifetime or by your will. In so doing, you will be safeguarding your family's future—no matter what is beneath the surface.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 54, No. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1959

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Suppression and Control of Maryland, 1861-1865 <i>Charles B. Clark</i>	241
The Methodist Christmas Conference: Baltimore Dec. 24, 1784—Jan. 2, 1785 <i>N. C. Hughes, Jr.</i>	272
Cover Picture: Allen C. Redwood, Confederate Illustrator	293
Fort McHenry: 1814: The Star Fort . . . <i>Richard Walsh</i>	296
Sidelights	310
Some Letters of Anna Surratt, ed. by Alfred Isacson	
Reviews of Recent Books	314
Lovejoy, <i>Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution</i> , by Robert A. Feer	
Armstrong, E. L. <i>Godkin and American Foreign Policy, 1865-1900</i> , by Charles A. Sullivan.	
Mann, <i>A Yankee Jeffersonian: Selections from the Diary and Letters of William Lee of Massachusetts . . .</i> , by Leonard C. Faber.	
Woodress, <i>A Yankee Odyssey, the Life of Joel Barlow</i> , by Dorothy Mackay Quynn.	
Bennett, <i>Bondsmen and Bishops . . .</i> , by William L. McDowell, Jr.	
Trefousse, <i>Ben Butler</i> , by Ludwell H. Johnson, III.	
Harwell, ed., <i>The Confederate Reader and The Union Reader</i> , by William H. Wroten, Jr.	
Morgan, <i>The Puritan Dilemma: the Story of John Winthrop</i> , by R. W.	
Cunningham, <i>The Jeffersonian Republicans</i> , by R. W.	
Desmond, <i>Bewitching Betsy Bonaparte</i> , by Fred Shelley.	
Smith and Murphy, eds., <i>Liberty and Justice</i> , by Stuart Bruchey.	
Notes and Queries	329
Contributors	330

Annual Subscription to the Magazine \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

Richard Walsh, *Editor*

C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDING

201 W. MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE 1

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other historical agencies; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of useful historical books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are \$8 and up, life membership \$150. Subscriptions to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, are included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 1. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1. Closed Saturdays in August.

WILLIAM BUCKLAND

1734-1774

*Architect of Virginia
and Maryland*

by ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE
and

JOHN H. SCARFF, F. A. I. A.

Generously illustrated with views of distinguished colonial houses. Based on records in England, Virginia, and Maryland. Throws much light on the life and customs of the 18th century, especially on the atmosphere of Annapolis. *Second printing.*

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Published by the
MARYLAND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

CIVIL WAR MATERIAL

AMERICAN HERITAGE, *The Magazine of History*, is seeking illustrative material on the Civil War.

We are especially interested in contemporary photographs, drawings, oil paintings, water colors, lithographs, or engravings. We are anxious to obtain pictures of unusual or historic interest, or those which have never been reproduced before.

Information and details concerning illustrations of this sort should be sent to:

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 54

SEPTEMBER, 1959

Number 3

SUPPRESSION AND CONTROL OF MARY- LAND, 1861-1865;

A STUDY OF FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS DURING
CIVIL CONFLICT

By CHARLES B. CLARK

THE political and military leaders of the United States—by thought, word, and action—recognized the great importance of holding Maryland within the Union during the Civil War. While this subject has been considered previously, there is much material, hitherto unpublished, which further clarifies the relationship of Maryland and the national government during that period.

Maryland's geographical position was unique among the states. Consequently, the Union was compelled to take special pains to prevent the State from seceding and to ensure the necessary cooperation from her. Federal-state relations, neither always clear nor smooth in normal times—as we know so well today—assumed

a most unnatural but required pattern during the Civil War. An unusual case study is therefore presented in the American federal system of government.

The study takes into consideration the great concern, the plans, and the various courses of action pursued to compel Maryland's adherence to the Union. Unlike the northern states which on this occasion had no thought of secession, and unlike the southern states which did secede, Maryland was not allowed to make her own decision. It has never been ascertained, nor will it ever be, that Maryland would have seceded. Without question, however, it was a real possibility in the early days of the war and a threat for some time thereafter.

Methods employed to assure Maryland's adherence to the Union included: the application of martial law for certain periods and the consequent presence of military troops, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and the countless arbitrary arrests that followed, the arrest and imprisonment of members of the State legislature and other officials, the suppression of the opposition press, and the control of elections.

The power of arrest was exercised originally by the Department of State alone, then concurrently with the War Department, and finally by the War Department alone. Men were arrested solely upon an order from Washington until Secretary of War Stanton on August 2, 1862, directed all United States marshals and town, city, or district policemen to arrest any persons who discouraged enlistment or indulged in any other alleged disloyal practice. Those arrested were to be tried by military commissions. A few weeks later, on September 26, President Lincoln authorized the appointment of one or more provost-marshals for each state. Their function was to arrest all disloyal persons under a warrant of the Judge-Advocate-General and to inquire into and report all treasonable practises. They were empowered to employ citizens, constables, sheriffs, police officers, and even the nearest military force to assist them. All police officers in Maryland and other states became subordinate to the provost-marshals.¹

During the early days of excitement and confusion following Lincoln's election, the secession of Southern states, and the first

¹ A. H. Carpenter, "Military Government of Southern Territories, 1861-1865," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1900*, I, 471-474.

conflict of arms, Maryland was a virtual tinder box. The painful and sometimes wavering efforts of Governor Thomas H. Hicks to hold Maryland loyal to the Union did little to assure the same. There was little, if any, order until May 13, 1861, when General Butler, without orders, occupied Baltimore with approximately 1000 men and proclaimed martial law. President Lincoln had already given General Scott authority to suspend the *writ of habeas corpus* at his discretion along any military line between Washington and Philadelphia.² Arbitrary arrests by the hundreds now became the order of the day.³ Political prisoners became so numerous by February, 1862 that Lincoln commissioned General John A. Dix, then commander of the Maryland Department, and Judge Edwards Pierrepont of New York to investigate the cases and to recommend the release of prisoners whenever deemed safe.⁴

General Butler's occupation of Baltimore was scored by General Scott who wired: "Your hazardous occupation . . . was made without my knowledge, and of course without my approbation. It is a God-send that it was without conflict of arms."⁵ Butler, however, claimed he had proceeded on the basis of "verbal directions, received from the War Department" on May 12.⁶ He asserted that his troops had been warmly received. To Baltimoreans, Butler explained that his purpose was to enforce "respect and obedience to the laws, as well of the state—if requested thereto by the civil authorities—as of the United States laws." He would not interfere with loyal men or private property unless

² *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Series 1, II, 601-602, hereafter cited *O. R.*

³ A. H. Carpenter, *op. cit.*; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, I (1861), 361. The *Baltimore Clipper*, June 1, 1861, reported the arrest of ex-Governor Thomas G. Pratt for treason. This was the first of several arrests for him. Forty-one of the 175 persons confined in Fort Lafayette between July and October 1861, were Maryland judges, legislators, editors.

⁴ Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix* (New York, 1833), II, 43.

⁵ *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Series 1, II, 29-30. Butler, in command of a detachment of Massachusetts volunteers, had landed at Annapolis by water from Perryville in order to avoid Baltimore (the route through which Marylanders had closed). On May 5, on orders of General Scott, he left Annapolis with two regiments for Relay which, with surrounding country, he put under military control. It was from here that he proceeded to occupy Baltimore on May 13, 1861. *Ibid.*, 620; *New York World*, May 6, 1861; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, I, "Diary," 58.

used to render aid and comfort to those in rebellion. All shipments of articles to the Confederacy were forbidden and the exhibition of a "flag, banner, ensign, or device of the so-called Confederate States, or any of them . . . [would] be deemed and taken to be evidence of a design to afford aid and comfort to the enemies of the country." Butler warned that even though he had occupied Baltimore with "scarcely more than an ordinary guard," he was backed by "many thousand troops in the immediate neighborhood, which might at once be concentrated here." He promised to punish his troops if they conducted themselves improperly among the civilian population.⁷

Once in control, Butler lost no time seizing arms, including 40 minie rifles and 2700 others, and all "manufactories" of arms, supplies, and munitions which were furnishing the South. No aid was forthcoming from city officials in this activity, however, for Butler reported to General Scott that the Mayor, George William Brown, "did not consider it the duty of the city authorities actively to cooperate in preventing the forwarding of arms and munitions of war to the rebels."⁸ Otherwise Butler seemed to have won the respect of the people of the City by assuring them his presence would not interrupt business but would protect the people, preserve the peace, and sustain the laws.⁹ General Scott, however, was aggravated anew by Butler's brazenness and wired him on May 15 to "Issue no more proclamations."¹⁰ On the same day he relieved Butler from his command and replaced him with Brevet-Major General George Cadwalader who thereby became commander of the Department of Annapolis.¹¹ Calwalader's orders reflected the concern of Federal officials over Maryland:

Herewith you will receive a power to arrest persons under certain circumstances, and to hold them prisoners though they should be demanded by writs of habeas corpus.

This is a high and delicate trust, and as you cannot fail to perceive,

⁷ The proclamation was issued from "Federal Hill." *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 30-32. Butler had occupied Baltimore with 500 men of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, 450 men of the Eighth New York Regiment, and a "section of Cook's Battery." *Ibid.*, 29-30.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

⁹ *New York Commercial Advertiser*, May 15, 1861; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, I, Documents, 244-245.

¹⁰ *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 638-639.

to be executed with judgment and discretion. Nevertheless, in times of civil strife, errors, if any, should be on the side of the safety of the country. This is the language of the General-in-Chief himself.¹²

Cadwalader was also told he might parole Ross Winans, arrested as a secessionist by General Butler, provided he took a prescribed oath.¹³ Winans was something of an inventive and industrial genius who had amassed a fortune of fifteen million dollars. He built locomotives for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and his Baltimore railway shops were the largest in America. Now, at 65, he was a secessionist member of the Maryland House of Delegates. At his own expense he had manufactured over 4,000 steel pikes to be used against northern abolitionists. He had also manufactured the Winans steam gun, a cannon mounted on a four-wheel steam propelled carriage equipped with a bullet-proof cone to protect the cannoneers. It was calculated to mow down infantrymen like a scythe. The first of these guns was sent to Harper's Ferry by Winans for Confederate use, but it was seized by the Federals and found to be impractical.¹⁴

The Department of Annapolis, with headquarters now located in Baltimore at Fort McHenry, included "the country for twenty miles on each side of the railroad from Annapolis to the City of Washington as far as Bladensburg."¹⁵ Cadwalader notified Washington headquarters that unless the enemy advanced upon Baltimore, one or two regiments should suffice for his command.¹⁶

General Cadwalader's command in Baltimore was also brief, but long enough for him to become a principal in the famed Merryman case.¹⁷ He refused to obey a *writ of habeas corpus* issued by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney for the relief of John Merryman who had been imprisoned at Fort McHenry for seces-

¹² *Ibid.*, 639. Dated May 16, 1861.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 28-30, 639. The prescribed oath was "I solemnly give my parole of honor that I will not openly or covertly commit any act of hostility against the Government of the United States pending existing troubles or hostilities between the said Government and the Southern seceded States, or any of them." Winans took the oath and was released.

¹⁴ Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (4 vols.; New York, 1939), I, 275-276.

¹⁵ *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 607-648.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 639-640.

¹⁷ 17 Fed. Case No. 9487 (1861).

sionist activities. Cadwalader was replaced by General Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts on June 11, 1861.¹⁸

General Banks stepped up arrests and Baltimore was brought fully under military control. Two days after he took command, special elections were conducted to choose members of Congress. There was much fear that military personnel would interfere. General Banks notified Mayor George William Brown that troops had been restricted from entering the City except on his orders unless they were legitimate Maryland voters certified by the Mayor before Banks' arrival. Banks also asserted that the City police would be held accountable if disorder or anarchy resulted from the election.¹⁹ In this election, however, there was no trouble. Banks wrote to Secretary Cameron that the election had "passed without disorder." But he added that this was "not a just indication of the spirit of the city. Active demonstrations on the part of secessionists can only be suppressed by constant readiness of our forces. We need greatly some assistance here." Banks asked for authority to establish a home guard and also sought a "corps of cavalry to suppress the contraband trade on the back roads leading southward." The infantry could "well command the railways." Banks closed this communication by suggesting that "Baltimore would afford most excellent camps of instruction for raw troops. . . ." ²⁰

General Banks soon found it expedient to concentrate additional troops in the vicinity of Baltimore, since they would exercise "an important moral effect upon the disaffected inhabitants of the city," and also enable him to send units more quickly to Washington when needed.²¹

Withal, the population was very troublesome to General Banks. Opposition to the Federal Government and its troops took strange forms. For example, General Scott requested that Banks station troops at the railroad depot to assure that troops arriving from the North "be duly supplied with water." Scott had heard on "several occasions" that "police and others have interfered to prevent friendly persons from furnishing them with water. . . .

¹⁸ *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 675.

¹⁹ *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 681. Communication dated June 13, 1861, the day of the election.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 690. Dated June 16, 1861.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 699.

Two worthy Quakers, named William Robinson and James D. Graham, have, it seems, been threatened with violence for no other cause than this.”²²

There was a third quick turnover in the command as General John Adams Dix was ordered to Baltimore to replace General Banks on July 23, 1861.²³ The department was renamed the Department of Maryland, with headquarters remaining at Fort McHenry.

It was under General Dix and his successors, General John E. Wool and General Robert C. Schenck, that Maryland received the full impact of Federal control and suppression. Whatever rights Maryland possessed or claimed, and regardless of her complaints, the Federal Government considered it of paramount importance that the State be held within the Union. Methods of attaining this objective were generally secondary to the end.

On the very first evening of his command, General Dix received a communication from the Secretary of War concerning the “Winans arms,” apparently a secret cache of unidentified arms manufactured or otherwise made available by Ross Winans. In his reply to Cameron the following day, Dix stated he had conferred with General Banks who “doubts the facts stated.” Since the arms were allegedly secreted in a nunnery, it was Banks’ belief that “a search would excite a great deal of feeling among the Roman Catholics.” Nevertheless, Dix had “sent for a special agent of the police, and directed him to station policemen by night and day near the only two nunneries, as he [Banks] thinks, in the city, and to keep them under constant supervision.” If the nunneries were entered by an unusual number of persons, or an attempt made to move the arms if they were secreted as reported, “the whole police force, aided by the military, will be called out. . . . In the meantime, if any circumstances occur to confirm suspicions, I will not hesitate a moment to institute a thorough examination of the premises.”²⁴

General Dix lost no time in asserting his authority. His son, who spent some time with him at Fort McHenry, wrote that at the time “Maryland was substantially the military base of operations

²² O. R., Series 1, II, 724. Dated June 25, 1861.

²³ *Ibid.*, 759. For Dix, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 326.

²⁴ O. R., Series 1, II, 761.

on the Potomac. The loss of Baltimore would have been the loss of Maryland; the loss of Maryland would have been the loss of the national capital, and perhaps, if not probably, the loss of the Union cause."²⁵ Authorized by Cameron to organize and equip a regiment of home guards of 850 picked men,²⁶ as requested earlier by General Banks, Dix felt more secure in pursuing his objectives and tightened his control over Baltimore and environs. Later, looking back upon this period, Dix justified his rigid methods, stating

There is no city in the Union in which domestic disturbances have been more frequent or carried to more fatal extremes, from 1812 to the present day. Although the great body of the people are eminently distinguished for their moral virtues, Baltimore has always contained a mass of inflammable material, which ignites on the slightest provocation. A city so prone to burst out into flame, and thus become dangerous to its neighbors, should be controlled by the strong arm of the government whenever these paroxysms of excitement occur.²⁷

One of Dix's first orders was to follow up the earlier directive of General Butler forbidding the display of Confederate colors. Reaction to this was clear and unmistakable, as evidenced by a broadside appearing on September 4, 1861, entitled "General Dix's Proclamation." It read:

It is said that all mint candy and barber poles of that color were forbidden, and that all persons having red hair and moustaches, or whiskers, are hereby warned to have one or the other dyed blue. No sunrises or sunsets which exhibit such combinations will be permitted on pain of suppression. Persons are forbidden to drink red and white wine alternately. His Majesty (Abraham 1st) is however graciously pleased to make an exception in favor of red noses, these last being greatly in vogue among Federal officers . . .

Done at Baltimore Bastile (Fort McHenry) this 4th day of September the 1st year of Abraham's glorious and peaceful reign.

Signed: John L. [sic] Dix, Major-General ²⁸

Dix's order also inspired a song, "Dix's Manifesto," which, sung to the tune of "Dearest Moe," ran

²⁵ Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix*, II, 24.

²⁶ *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 765.

²⁷ Morgan Dix, *op. cit.*, II, 36.

²⁸ Raphael Semmes, "Vignettes of Maryland History," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XL, No. 1 (March, 1945), 51.

On Barber's pole, and mint stick
 He did his veto place
 He swore that in his city
 He'd red and white erase.²⁹

And Dix was getting results! On September 4, 1861, he informed General McClellan that no secession flag had been exhibited in Baltimore for many weeks, except for a small paper flag displayed by a child from an upper window. Rebel envelopes and music in shop windows were also forbidden.³⁰

General Dix had a difficult task in Maryland and his work branched into many areas. Primarily his mission was to keep the peace and prevent secessionist activities. To achieve these ends it was necessary to arrest prominent agitators and any others considered dangerous, prevent demonstrations, maintain an adequate force and sufficient arms, bolster the fortifications, and suppress the disloyal journals and newspapers. He was concerned with maintaining adequate forces in his department and informed the War Department on July 24 that he would be depleted of troops when their service expired in early August.³¹ He therefore recommended that at least 10,000 men be furnished the Baltimore and Annapolis areas.

The War Department recognized the urgency of Dix's requests and, by August, two companies of cavalry had been sent. As for arms, Dix requested on August 7 that sabers and pistols be sent to augment the Hall's carbines (without slings) which were already on hand.³² Frequently Dix was compelled to dispatch troops and equipment to trouble areas, such as the counties of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, and to Northern Virginia,³³ depleting his own units. He was never able to relax close vigilance in his own command. On one occasion he wrote to Secretary of War Stanton:

²⁹ Raphael Semmes, "Civil War Song Sheets," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII, No. 3 (September, 1943), 210.

³⁰ *O. R.*, Series 2, I, 591.

³¹ Morgan Dix, *Op. cit.*, II, 25; *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 759-760. Listed are the units at that time in Baltimore, their commanders, and their enlistment expiration dates.

³² *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 556.

³³ *Ibid.*, Series 1, XII, Part 3, 222. Help was asked for General Banks, now (May 24, 1862) at Front Royal, Virginia, and under attack. Reinforcements also went to Harper's Ferry from Baltimore, *Ibid.*, 239-240, 253, 304-305; *Ibid.*, Series 1, LI, Part 1, 426-427.

You may have heard that there has been some disturbance here yesterday and today. It is, I think, now over. It did not amount to a riot. It was a crusade of the Union men against the secessionists. The military has been under arms, and I could have cleared the streets at any moment. I have all the powers I need, and shall use them if the proper time comes.³⁴

The demonstrations Dix referred to were also reported due to the dissatisfaction of Maryland Unionists with Federal handling of Southern sympathizers, a matter they felt capable of handling.³⁵

The necessity of providing adequate fortifications was soon apparent to General Dix. Although the military units occupied high ground, only the regiment within Fort McHenry was covered by defensive works. Dix proposed that Federal Hill be fortified since it commanded Fort McHenry and every other eminence from which the Fort could be assailed. Also, he said, it overlooked a part of the City "rank with secession."³⁶

Fort McHenry was in fact extremely crowded with prisoners and not well defended. Only by assuming a bold air and mounting dummy cannon (logs of wood) on the walls was the Fort's Commander, Colonel Morris, able to hold the secessionists until he was supplied with troops and artillery.³⁷ Shortly after his arrival in Baltimore, General Dix reported to Washington his estimate of the strength at Fort McHenry:

I am not quite satisfied with Fort McHenry. It is very strong on the water side, but, like most of our harbor fortifications, was constructed with no special reference to attack by land. The approach from Baltimore is faced by a curtain, which was only designed for infantry. Major Morris . . . has placed some mortars behind it, but there is no room for cannon. . . . If the suggestions I have made are carried out, I think . . . Baltimore can be controlled under any circumstances.³⁸

On August 16, General Dix, accompanied by Colonel G. W. Cullum of Washington headquarters, made a hasty reconnaissance

³⁴ May 26, 1862, *Ibid.*, Series 1, XII, Part 3, 253.

³⁵ *Maryland News Sheet*, May 30, 1862; *Washington (D. C.) National Republican*, May 29, 1862.

³⁶ *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 558-559. After Dix left Baltimore, he wrote a letter on September 15, 1862 to H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief, from Fort Monroe reemphasizing the importance of Federal Hill and estimating the amount of work necessary to complete efforts he had begun to fortify it adequately. Morgan Dix, *Op. cit.*, II, 36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 26; *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 559.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, dated August 12, 1861.

of Baltimore's "eminences" with the view of having them fortified. The following day he sent Colonel Cullum a memorandum and map covering the results of their joint inspection.³⁹ Dix listed and described the "eminences" in Baltimore:

1. FEDERAL HILL—(83 feet, 6 inches above mean high tide): Next to Fort McHenry it is the most important position in the harbor of Baltimore. It commands the railroad through Pratt Street [about 800 yards away] to the President Street depot, the entire basin, the whole lower part of the city, and in the hands of an enemy might be dangerous to Fort McHenry, from which it is two miles distant.

2. PATTERSON'S PARK—(124 feet, 9 inches above mean high tide): A commanding position two miles from Fort McHenry, [it] would be very important if No. 3 (Potter's Race Course) were not to be fortified. It is surrounded by a loyal population, and its present occupation is not as necessary as that of No. 4 (the McKim mansion). The Sixth Wisconsin Regiment was encamped here, until recently ordered to Washington.

3. POTTER'S RACE COURSE—(180 feet above mean high tide): A strong work on this height is indispensable to the safety of Fort McHenry, which it commands, and from which it is less than two miles distant. It also commands Patterson's Park, and is the only point, with the exception of the latter and No. 4, from which the eighth ward, one of the most disloyal in the city, can be assailed. It is to be immediately fortified by order of the General-in-Chief.

4. MCKIM'S MANSION—(119 feet, 9 inches above mean high tide): It is in the eighth ward, and commands that portion of the city as effectually as Federal Hill commands the lower portion and the basin. For controlling the population of the city and suppressing outbreaks this position is second only to the latter. It was occupied by the Fifth Wisconsin Regiment until the 7th [August], when that regiment was ordered to Washington. If I had a regiment to spare I would place it here in preference to Patterson's Park. It has excellent and ample ground for battalion drill.

5. STEUART'S MANSION, MOUNT CLARE—(184 feet, 7 inches above mean high tide): This position is important from its vicinity to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Mount Clare depot on that road, as well as from the relation it holds to the direction from which the city is most likely to be assailed from without.

Fortifications eventually constructed on Federal Hill and Murray Hill formed an equilateral triangle with Fort McHenry, all bearing upon and supporting each other, and placing the entire city at

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 565-566. Cullum was an Aide-de-Camp at Headquarters.

their mercy. Federal Hill was transformed into a scientifically constructed and formidable fortification, covering two-and-a-half acres and armed with columbiads commanding approximately three-fourths of the City.⁴⁰

Forces in Baltimore under General Dix in the late summer of 1861 were assigned as follows: ⁴¹

FORT MCHENRY: Inside—Regulars, 194; outside—Third New York Volunteers, 795; Twenty-First Indiana Volunteers, 845. Total, 1,834.

FEDERAL HILL: Fifth New York Volunteers under Colonel Duryea, a total of 1,028.

MOUNT CLARE: Fourth Pennsylvania, 823; Second Maryland Regiment, 579; Nims' Light Artillery, 156. Total, 1,558.

AGRICULTURAL GROUND (north of City): Two companies of Pennsylvania Cavalry, unequipped, 213.

GRAND TOTAL—4,633.

Of these 4,633 troops, Dix considered less than 4,000 effective. He needed three additional regiments, one for work on the proposed entrenchments at Potter's Race Course, a second to be located at McKim's Mansion for surveillance of the eighth ward, and the third to be installed at Patterson's Park until Potter's Race Course was fortified.

The Home Guard was being organized in the City and Dix felt it could be armed within a week. "It will number 850 men. We have nothing for them but flintlock muskets or Hall's breech-loading rifles, also with flint locks. With this force I should feel safe except from external attack. In case of an advance from the Potomac we should need to be strengthened in some proportion to the number of our assailants." ⁴²

General Dix, of course, was responsible for the defense of the entire "Maryland Department" and not just the immediate area of Baltimore. On August 19 he submitted a report to General McClellan, stating that his troops were "scattered not only by regiments, but by companies, over a large surface," and that his

⁴⁰ Morgan Dix, *op. cit.*, II, 26.

⁴¹ O. R., Series 1, V, 566-567.

⁴² O. R., Series 1, V, 566-567. An advance from the Potomac was more than a possibility. McClellan wrote on August 18, 1861: "Information received from General Banks today confirms the belief that the enemy intends crossing the Potomac . . . and moving on Baltimore or Washington." *Ibid.*, 567.

" returns " were for the most part as of August 16. He systematically placed his units by location and size: ⁴³

1. ANNAPOLIS: Defended by the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, with six companies at Annapolis headquarters and four more at Annapolis Junction, with detachments from both stations guarding the intermediate bridges and cross roads. " Contraband goods are carried across this line to the lower counties on the Western Shore of Maryland bordering on the Potomac, and sent into Virginia at Mathias Point and other places. To watch it effectively five more companies are needed; a regiment would be better."

2. THE RELAY HOUSE: This point, nine miles from Baltimore at the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Washington Branch, was protected by the Fourth Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers. Units were assigned in all directions, all within the range of nine miles from the headquarters of the regiment. One company was placed between the Relay House and Annapolis Junction.

3. PHILADELPHIA, WILMINGTON, AND BALTIMORE RAILROAD: Defended by the Fourth Regiment of the New York Volunteers, with Headquarters at Havre de Grace and with units centered at Perryville, Perrymansville, Bush River, Gunpowder River, and at Back River.

4. NORTHERN CENTRAL RAILROAD: Defended by the Twentieth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, with headquarters near Cockeysville. Units were scattered at Pikesville Arsenal, with six companies along the railroad line in detachments, guarding some sixty-five bridges and culverts in Maryland and a few across the Pennsylvania line.

The remaining regiments and corps in Maryland were reported " all in and around Baltimore." The New York Third and the Indiana Twenty-first, outside of Fort McHenry, were subject to numerous calls for detached service, such as protecting powder-houses, or steamers " engaged in the transportation of supplies between Baltimore and Washington," or training artillerists who could relieve the " less than 200 artillerists in Fort McHenry to man 72 guns." Fort Delaware had a garrison of less than 50 artillerists and needed reinforcement by another company, Dix noted. Some regiments were instructed only in " the school of the soldier and the company " and not of the battalion. The Third and Fourth Regiments of New York Volunteers were " greatly demoralized. I [Dix] had serious difficulty with the former a few days ago; but by prompt and rigorous measures the insubordina-

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Series 1, V, 569-571.

tion was quelled." Commenting upon the City of Baltimore, Dix said it was safe for the moment "even with my present inadequate force; but if the Confederates should cross the Potomac into Maryland, it would need to be doubled in order to secure us against an outbreak on the part of the disloyal population. I have never put my estimate of the troops required in and around Baltimore at less than 7,000." ⁴⁴

Maryland's Governor, Thomas H. Hicks, was for the most part cooperative with the Federal Government during this period, although at times not certain of his own views and position. He gave support to General Dix in making arrests of those suspected of aiding the Confederacy. He agreed that the Eastern Shore be cut off from communication with the South by stationing soldiers there and also by arming local Union men. Upon his suggestion, all military companies on the Eastern Shore suspected of disloyalty were promptly disarmed.⁴⁵

The arrest of citizens of Maryland without due civil process continued on a large scale throughout 1862. Meetings were suspended, documents seized, and persons rushed off to imprisonment in the Federal forts upon the slightest suspicion of sympathy with the South. Normally not deterred long, they were often arrested a second or third time.

The spectacular arrest of Judge Richard Bennett Carmichael ⁴⁶ on May 28, 1862, as he presided over the Circuit Court at Easton aroused great interest and excitement. The Deputy Provost-Marshal, James T. McPhail, with a small military force was directed by Dix to proceed by steamer to the Eastern Shore to make the arrest. Warned upon his arrival that an armed force of at least 100 men would resist them, McPhail telegraphed for additional men and Dix immediately sent 125. When his court was entered, Judge Carmichael asked upon what authority his arrest was made. When informed by the authority of the United States Government he asserted it was not sufficient under the

⁴⁴ O. R., Series 1, V, 569-571. Dix was serving now under General McClellan whose command had been extended over Maryland. *Ibid.*, 568; *Ibid.*, Series 2, I, 590.

⁴⁵ O. R., Series 1, V, 609. See also 572, 581, 616, 620. A military company at Westminster was also disarmed.

⁴⁶ 1807-1884; member of Congress, 1833-1835; judge of circuit court of Talbot, Queen Anne's and Kent Counties, Maryland; president of Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1867; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), 949; *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX, 26.

circumstances of the case. Whereupon, an officer attempted to seize Carmichael forcibly and was kicked. The Judge was then struck over the head several times with a revolver and dragged out a prisoner. The greatest confusion prevailed. Judge Carmichael was taken to Baltimore and interned in Fort McHenry.⁴⁷

This arrest took place seven months after Secretary Seward expressed the opinion to Dix that "that functionary [Carmichael] should be arrested even in his court if need be and sent to Fort Lafayette. You may proceed accordingly."⁴⁸ General Dix had taken no action at the time. Three months before the arrest he wrote to Governor Bradford that Carmichael was one of the "prime movers of disaffection and disloyalty on the Eastern Shore of Maryland," having signed and published a "treasonable memorial" that was sent to the State legislature. His actions as a judge were indefensible to Dix; his charges to the grand juries in his court had been "inflammatory" and "insulting to the Federal Government." He had instructed juries to "find bills against all persons who had given information on which arrests had been made" by the United States Government. Even Brigadier General Henry H. Lockwood, whose conduct had been "marked by the most prudent and discreet forbearance" in executing Dix's orders on the Eastern Shore, had been subjected to the "indignity of an indictment." Also, Carmichael had hindered Federal authorities, said Dix, in their attempt to stamp out disloyalty. He was a "dishonor to the bench" and to the "loyal State of Maryland," and his arrest had not been ordered earlier only because of "advice of gentlemen from the Eastern Shore; but I believe the feeling is now nearly unanimous that his disloyal and vindictive conduct has been endured too long."⁴⁹

The arrest of Judge Carmichael drove many Marylanders to intense antagonism toward the Federal Government. George

⁴⁷ See *Baltimore American*, May 29, 1862 for this account. Carmichael was taken to Fort Lafayette in New York Harbor on July 9. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1862. See account in *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, Jan. 29, 1863, reprinted from the *New York Freeman's Journal* and written by "Pilgrim," a prisoner and cellmate of Carmichael's at Fort McHenry. He relates that Carmichael was badly mauled when he arrived from Easton, with blood covering his head. Officers abused him, boasting of their brazenness in arresting a judge while on the bench, said "Pilgrim."

⁴⁸ *O. R.*, Series 2, II, 85. Seward referred to a letter he had received from J. Hopkins Tarr of Denton, "relative to Judge R. B. Carmichael, of that quarter."

⁴⁹ Dix to Bradford, Feb. 10, 1862, *O. R.*, Series 2, II, 213.

Vickers of Chestertown wrote Bradford that while he did not at the time question the cause of the arrest, he felt that the "*time, place, and manner* constitute[d] an outrage which calls for redress."⁵⁰ Unless the Judge should be released at once, said Vickers, "the Union party will not be able to hang together." In his opinion the prestige of the State judiciary had been damaged by those "who do not seem to know how to distinguish between a Bar room and a court—a rowdy and a gentleman." The Governor replied to Vickers that he agreed with his sentiments but felt that if the reports of Carmichael's disloyalty were true his arrest was justified. Bradford did not himself think they were true and advised Vickers to send any available testimony in support of Carmichael to General John E. Wool, who replaced General Dix on June 1.⁵¹ Bradford proceeded to write General Wool, stating that the time of the arrest of Carmichael was "most unseasonably chosen." He feared the effect of the arrest upon the loyal sentiment of the community as well as upon the dignity of the bench.⁵²

Unquestionably the time, place, and manner of the arrest were poorly chosen. However, Carmichael's arrest seems to have been fully justified from the Federal Government's position. His statements, especially associated with his position, were not only unbecoming to a judge but inimical to the interests of the United States. A letter Carmichael wrote to United States Senator James Alfred Pearce, of Chestertown, on July 23, 1861, clearly indicates his position on the war:

For God's sake do without a moment's delay, make your speech denouncing this unholy war, and the unconstitutional proceedings with which it has been gotten up, and conducted. Do it for your friends, for your State, and for your Country, and for your self. . . . I pray you, gird up your loins, brace up your health to the tension of your heart, and let us feel that 'Richard is himself again.'⁵³

Judge Carmichael remained imprisoned until Secretary Seward ordered him unconditionally released on December 3, 1862. No trial was ever granted him, nor any charges made against him.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Vickers to Bradford, June 4, 1862. *Executive Letter Book* (Maryland), 304-306. Vickers, a prominent Eastern Shoreman, later became U. S. Senator.

⁵¹ Bradford to Vickers, June 7, 1862. *Ibid.*

⁵² Bradford to General John E. Wood, June 9, 1862. *Ibid.*, 306-307.

⁵³ Bernard C. Steiner, "James Alfred Pearce," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (1924), 26.

⁵⁴ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 30, December 4, 1862.

Among the many difficult problems confronting General Dix was establishing the proper relationship between the Baltimore police organization and the United States military. This was a problem inherited from General Banks. The latter had arrested Police Chief George P. Kane on June 27, 1861, on orders of General Scott⁵⁵ who termed Kane the "head of an armed force hostile to its [Government's] authority . . . [who was] acting in concert with its avowed enemies."⁵⁶ At the same time, Banks suspended the powers of the police board, made up of Charles Howard, president, William H. Gatchell, John W. Davis, and Charles S. Hinks. Four days later, on July 1, these men were arrested and confined. Their clerk, William McKewen, was also arrested but soon released because of failing health.⁵⁷

Banks reported that when the Police Board was suspended, it improperly declared the police law also suspended. Thus, with the police officers and men off duty, the Police Board intended, he said, to "leave the city without any police protection whatever."⁵⁸ The headquarters, "when abandoned . . . resembled in some respects a concealed arsenal."⁵⁹

Following the arrest of Kane, General Banks had appointed Colonel John R. Kenly of the First Maryland Regiment "provost-marshal within and for the city of Baltimore."⁶⁰ Kenly found it necessary at once to organize a force of 400 men to replace the inactive police force. To supplement it, "in view of possible occurrences, and the better to meet contingent action of disloyal persons, rumors of which have reached me," Banks placed a large part of his military force in the city. He promised to withdraw the troops as soon as "the question of the conflicting forces of police can be arranged" and "a loyal citizen can be nominated to the

⁵⁵ O. R., Series 1, II, 138-139.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 140-142. General Banks notified the public by a proclamation.

⁵⁷ Between their suspension on June 27 and their arrest on July 1, the Police Board met secretly, but protested openly of their arrest. They persuaded policemen to vacate the station houses and divest themselves of their insignia of office. *Ibid.*, Series 1, II, 139, 141-143, 145; George William Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th of April*, 99; J. T. Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, 614-616. The Police Board was imprisoned temporarily at Fort McHenry and then for a year at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor.

⁵⁸ O. R., Series 1, II, 141.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 141-142.

⁶⁰ O. R., Series 1, II, 139-140.

office of marshal [police chief] who will execute the police laws impartially and in good faith to the United States.”⁶¹

At his own request, Colonel Kenly was removed from his assignment on July 11 after only a few days in office. Banks stated that he had performed his duties in the “most prompt, faithful, and discreet manner.”⁶²

The arrest of Kane and the police board raised a furore in Baltimore and Maryland. The board lodged protests with the Maryland legislature and with Congress, while the Mayor and Council of Baltimore also petitioned Congress. Lincoln was requested by Congress to give “the grounds, reason, and evidence upon which the police commissioners of Baltimore were arrested and are now detained as prisoners at Fort McHenry,” if in his “judgement not incompatible with the public interest.” The President’s reply was that to give the necessary information was incompatible with the public interest “at this time.”⁶³

Upon his arrival in Baltimore, General Dix was confronted with a dispute over the policemen’s salaries. Apparently the latter considered themselves in a pay status even though not on duty. Dix ruled that having been suspended in June they should not be paid. Subsequently, the Maryland legislature appointed two police commissioners to manage the police force of Baltimore, effective March 10. But General Dix would not permit them to assume office until the Federal Government had notified them of the withdrawal of the provost-marshal and the police established under its authority. “This may be safely done at once,” said Dix in a letter to Stanton, provided a provost-Marshal “and not exceeding 20 policemen are appointed to perform special duties.” An appropriation of \$15,000 per annum would be necessary to meet the expenses of such a force, including their monthly compensation.⁶⁴ Dix asked for authority to proceed in the matter and was instructed that the police force established by the Federal Government was to be placed under the commissioners appointed

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 140, 142-143. Banks instructed Kenly on June 27, 1861, that the police law was not suspended, just the police board. *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, 140.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 144, 156; *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 37th Congress, 244, 347; *Maryland Pamphlets*, 1861-1863, I, Appendix to Henry May’s speeches; *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 152-156. The resolution went to Lincoln from the House of Representatives.

⁶⁴ *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 738. Dated March 8, 1862.

by the State legislature. The commissioners were allowed to name their assistants and employed eight detectives on March 29, 1862.⁶⁵

This new force, despite its limitation of size, performed many valuable services in Maryland and for the United States, becoming virtually Federal police. General Dix presented a statement to Congress covering their maintenance at \$790 a month but Congress failed to make the appropriation and the force, including Provost-Marshal Dodge and Deputy James T. McPhail, had to be disbanded in July. It had received no compensation.

Baltimore had no Provost-Marshal from August 1 until August 18 when the War Department gave McPhail a commission to serve in that capacity for all Maryland.⁶⁶ His service under Dodge had been excellent. He was familiar with the transactions of the preceding eight months and was a natural choice who was greeted warmly by the Unionists of the State. McPhail was now empowered to appoint the necessary deputies in the counties.

General Dix became involved in every major phase of Maryland life. He directed the suppression of the secessionist press in Baltimore and the State,⁶⁷ played a vital role in preventing Southern sympathizers from winning the critical elections in November, 1861,⁶⁸ and was in command of the Department of Maryland when thirty-one members of the State legislature were arrested and imprisoned.⁶⁹ Throughout his stay in Maryland, Dix used

⁶⁵ These men were John L. Bishop, Eton Horner, Benjamin B. Hough, James Pryor, Voltaire Randall, George Cassell, William F. Williamson, and Charles Bowers. *Baltimore American*, August 1, 1862. See Dix to Police Commissioners, March 17, 1862. *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 765-766.

⁶⁶ *Baltimore American*, August 18, 1862. McPhail and his appointees were apparently paid by Baltimore City, a matter protested by Mayor Brown. The latter had seen to it that the suspended Baltimore police were paid their back salaries. Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th April*, 104.

⁶⁷ Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of Baltimore Press during the Civil War," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI, No. 2 (June, 1941), 152 *et seq.*: Morgan Dix, *Op. cit.*, 29-31.

⁶⁸ George L. P. Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1901), 116-118; Charles B. Clark, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War* (Chestertown, Maryland, 1952), 61-83.

⁶⁹ The arrests were actually made by General Banks. See Radcliffe, *Op. cit.*, 110-118. The fullest account is in the unpublished portion of the author's doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina (Chapter 7, 215-230). See also Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (New York, 1950), I, 544-545; Morris I. Radoff, *The Old Line State: A History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1956), 84-85; *O. R.*, Series 2, I, 619, 748, 613-614, 667-676. Mayor Brown was arrested

his powers of arrest as his main weapon of control. Some arrests were more important and spectacular, but countless others were as serious and alarming to the victims. Fort McHenry was soon bursting at the seams, causing General Dix to write to General McClellan on September 7, 1861:

What is to be done with them? Every room is full, and we had about fifty prisoners last night in tents on the parade ground with hardly room left for the guard to parade. I understand there is room at Fort Delaware for some 200 prisoners.⁷⁰

But no relief was in sight as every type of offender was hauled in, including seven prisoners of war taken by General Banks and four State prisoners engaged in secreting a balloon in Delaware. Dix renewed his appeal to the Secretary of War, stating that "We now have over twenty confined in one room and cell."⁷¹

Although many prisoners were sent to Fort Columbus and Fort Lafayette in New York, and Fort Warren in Boston, Fort McHenry and then Fort Delaware had such an overflow that new accommodations had to be found. Dix ordered Captain Gibson, commander at Fort Delaware, to allow no more "pleasure parties" to visit there since an important prisoner had allegedly been smuggled out to freedom. Prisoners might receive letters and gifts only under careful surveillance. Later, in April 1862, Dix directed that delicacies such as fresh butter, preserves, and confectionaries sent the prisoners be diverted to the convalescent.⁷²

The charge was made frequently that General Dix was extremely arbitrary in making arrests. In fairness to him it must be stated that even though he had ample powers to make arrests as he saw fit, he gave every evidence of attempting to be reasonable and fair. He directed that no searches be made in private dwellings by the military, nor should any person possessing a shot gun on a "sporting excursion" be bothered.⁷³ Furthermore, he warned against making arrests without supportable evidence. To Secretary of State Seward he confided on October 5, 1861: "I am

at this time also (September 13, 1861) and not released until November 27, 1862. Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th April*, 104, 108-109. Most of the legislators had been released prior to November, 1862.

⁷⁰ O. R., Series 2, I, 593.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Series 2, II, 117.

⁷² O. R., Series 1, III, 478.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Series 2, I, 597.

suspicious of charges against individuals unless they are well supported. Two men were arrested and charged with open acts of hostility only to find . . . [they were] consistent and active Union men.”⁷⁴ Dix’s concern over due process is also borne out by a letter he wrote to a subordinate following his departure from Baltimore. Parts of it are significant enough to reproduce here:

. . . . When Judge Pierrepont and I examined [February, 1862] the cases of political prisoners in . . . custody from Washington to Fort Warren, we found persons arrested by military officers who had been overlooked . . . lying in prison for months without any just cause. For this reason, as well as on general principles of justice and humanity, I must insist that every person arrested shall have a prompt examination, and, if . . . a proper case for imprisonment, that the testimony shall be taken under oath, and the record sent, with the accused, to the officer who is to have the custody of him. This is especially necessary when the commitment is made by a military commission, and the party accused is sent to a distance and placed, like at Fort Wool, under the immediate supervision of the commanding officer of the Department or Army Corps. The only proper exception to the rule is where persons are temporarily detained during military movements, in order that they may not give information to the enemy. . . .

. . . [A] military commission not appointed by the commanding General of the Army or the Army Corps is a mere court of inquiry, and its proceedings can only be regarded in the light of information for the guidance of the officer who institutes it, and on whom the whole responsibility of any action under them must, from the necessity of the case, devolve. . . .⁷⁵

General Dix recognized the hardships enforced upon witnesses who must be held over and urged repeatedly that such persons receive compensation lest their families suffer unduly.⁷⁶

The questions raised by slaves and Negroes plagued Dix. He attempted to avoid any involvement in this connection, understanding the strong feeling among leaders and others in Maryland against injecting these questions into the conflict. The charge was frequently made that Union forces stole slaves or enticed them to run away. When the commander of the revenue cutter *Forward*, assigned the job of breaking up illicit trade from the Severn River to Virginia, captured three runaway slaves they were turned over

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 599.

⁷⁵ Dix to Brigadier-General J. K. S. Mansfield, commanding at Suffolk, Virginia, August 16, 1862, in Morgan Dix, *Op. cit.*, II, 44-46.

⁷⁶ *O. R.*, Series 2, II, 387-388.

to civil authorities at Annapolis on orders of General Dix. Later he directed that the slaves be surrendered to their owners, who had arrived in pursuit from Dorchester County, if proof of ownership could be given. His position on slaves was made clear in a directive to a subordinate:

Clear up any misapprehension in regard to the intention of the government in this way. The mission is to uphold the government against treasonable attempts. We wage no war with individuals. Do not interfere in any manner with persons held in servitude.⁷⁷

At this stage of the war, however, slaves and Negroes as individuals posed only minor problems to General Dix. Later in the war this would be a very serious problem in Maryland.⁷⁸

Among the many arrests made by the military commanders of Maryland, that of the celebrated Colonel Richard Thomas alias Zarvona alias the "French Lady" was probably the most unusual. Disguised as a woman, he went aboard the passenger steamer, *St. Nicholas*, plying between Baltimore and the Potomac, and, with other persons disguised as mechanics, seized the vessel and took it to Virginia. General Banks designated Zarvona's crime as "piracy of the worst form,"⁷⁹ but General Dix contended that Zarvona was not "indicted for piracy, and had been held under arrest like other prisoners of war."⁸⁰ In reality, Dix was not alarmed over Zarvona, stating he was a "crack-brained fellow who can do no mischief beyond his individual capacity, mental and physical, which is constitutionally small."⁸¹

Appeals came to Dix from all directions for the release of prisoners. In February of 1862 he compiled a list of those he considered too dangerous to release, including George P. Kane, police marshal; Charles Howard, president of the police board; Thomas C. Fitzpatrick and R. H. Rogers, recruiters for the Confederacy; Richard Thomas (Zarvona), the "French Lady"; Frank Howard, editor of the (Baltimore) *Exchange*; T. Parkin Scott, H. M. Warfield, Severn Teackle Wallis, arrested members of the

⁷⁷ O. R., Series 2, I, 775. Dix to Colonel Paine of the 4th Wisconsin Volunteers, Nov. 4, 1861.

⁷⁸ Clark, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*, 159-201.

⁷⁹ O. R., Series 2, II, 390.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 401.

State legislature considered dangerous and influential; a Dr. Brown, who had planned to enter the Confederate Army as a surgeon; A. W. Habershan, ready to enter the Confederate service; Benjamin Gunther of the Eastern Shore of Virginia, considered "dangerous"; Robert Hall, recently confined by orders of the Secretary of State; Mayor George William Brown of Baltimore, who might, it was feared, resume his duties if released.⁸²

General Dix, having served as commander of the Department of Maryland, now referred to as the Middle Department, was transferred on June 1, 1862 to Fort Monroe. He had won many friends and admirers among the Unionists in Baltimore and Maryland while suppressing disloyalty, but there was much difference of opinion even among these supporters over methods employed in making arrests.⁸³ The case of Judge Carmichael especially riled many.

Having only two hours to prepare for his departure, General Dix was unable to take leave of his command and the people of Baltimore except by a General Order, part of which is produced herewith:

. . . . The Major-General [Dix] commanding cannot forbear, in taking leave of the citizens of Baltimore, among whom his duties have been discharged, to express the grateful sense he will ever retain of the aid and encouragement he has received from those of them who have been true, under all the vicissitudes of a wicked and unnatural contest, to the cause of the Union. The ladies of the Union Relief Association are entitled to a special acknowledgement of his obligations to them. It is believed that the records of the philanthropic devotion do not contain a brighter example of self-sacrificing service than that which is to be found in their own quiet and unobtrusive labors. . . .

It is a source of great gratification to the Major-General commanding that in the eight months during which the municipal police was under his control no act of disorder disturbed the tranquillity of the city, and that the police returns, compared with those of a corresponding period of the previous year, exhibit a very great reduction, in some months as high as fifty percent in the aggregate of misdemeanors and crimes. The police having on the 20th of March last been surrendered to the city authorities, they have since then been responsible for the preservation of the public order.⁸⁴

⁸² O. R., Series 2, V, 739.

⁸³ High tribute was paid Dix by the *Baltimore American*, June 2, 1862, and the *Baltimore Sun*, June 2, 1862.

⁸⁴ General Orders No. 14, June 1, 1862. See Morgan Dix, *op. cit.*, II, 48.

General John E. Wool, successor to General Dix, was a strict disciplinarian recently stationed at Fort Monroe and at Norfolk. Wool was unpopular in Maryland from the beginning. According to the loyal *Baltimore American*, he denounced leading Unionists in Baltimore and the State, including Governor Bradford and ex-Governor Hicks, "whilst those who have never by any public word or deed, showed their sympathy with the government or their detestation of the rebellion—who, in fact, are profuse in their denunciation of every act of the administration, and only have words of compromise and conciliation for traitors," were accepted by Wool as true representatives of Union sentiment within the City.⁸⁵ However, Matthew Page Andrews asserted that General Wool had "mitigated the evils of military domination to such an extent that the more vindictive 'patriotic element' that profited by petty tyrannies, clamored for his removal from office."⁸⁶

At any rate, General Wool inaugurated a new wave of arrests. The newspapers carried daily accounts of apprehensions for alleged disloyalty, treason, or some closely allied cause.⁸⁷ The following case is more or less typical: At a large Union meeting in Baltimore on July 28, 1862, a committee was appointed to investigate certain charges of disloyalty and official corruption in the City. Upon presenting its report on October 28, officers and soldiers from General Wool's headquarters made a sudden appearance and seized documents purportedly exposing official corruption. Committee members were arrested, including Thomas H. Gardner, Clerk of the Criminal Court; Colonel Thomas R. Rich, aide-de-camp to Governor Bradford; Alfred Evans and Thomas Sewell. No cause for their arrest was given,⁸⁸ and much resentment followed throughout the State. Governor Bradford, who interviewed the prisoners, remonstrated with the arresting officials to no avail.⁸⁹ The prisoners, said Governor Bradford in his vigorous protest to President Lincoln, were marched through the streets of Baltimore "as though they were the vilest traitors," placed aboard the steamer *Balloon* at the Light Street Wharf and taken

⁸⁵ November 24, 1862.

⁸⁶ Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, I, 871-872.

⁸⁷ See *Baltimore Republican*, July 31, August 1, 5, 8, 1862.

⁸⁸ *Baltimore American*, August 1, 1862; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, II, 561.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 29, 30, 1862.

to Fort Delaware. Bradford called these men as "devotedly loyal as any within the Union," and added that

Our whole loyal community regard this as the grossest outrage and demand their release, and I on their behalf most respectfully insist that your Excellency will forthwith order the military commander of this department to set them at liberty and to return the papers forcibly seized and taken from them.⁹⁰

After a short confinement at Fort Delaware, the men were released unconditionally, still without explanation for their arrest.

General Wool sought to crush all semblance of Southern sympathy. He ordered the arrest of Charles H. Kerr and Henry McCaffrey, composer and publisher respectively, of music entitled the "Stonewall Quickstep" and dedicated to General Thomas J. Jackson.⁹¹ Unionism was gaining additional strength in Baltimore in the summer of 1862. The *Baltimore American*, with subtle reference to Wool's rigid control of the City, averred that patriotism and loyalty could be even stronger if the Government would "trust the people to a greater degree."⁹² A Baltimore correspondent of the *New York World* stated, however, that if Baltimore's inhabitants had their way "the city . . . would be surrendered without a moment's hesitation to a corporal's guard of the enemy."⁹³ Conflicting evidence as to the true state of affairs was plentiful, but Unionism was in control regardless.

General Wool's unpopularity was so great, and the clamor for his removal so insistent that he was replaced on December 23, 1862 by Major General Robert C. Schenck of Ohio.⁹⁴

Maryland was so relieved to be rid of General Wool that "almost any change . . . would have been hailed with acclamation."⁹⁵ The sentiments of General Schenck upon his arrival, plus the estimates of him by the Union press, augured well for

⁹⁰ Bradford to Lincoln, October 29, 1862, *O. R.*, Series 2, IV, 663.

⁹¹ July 23, 1862. *Ibid.*, 271.

⁹² *Baltimore American*, September 9, 1862.

⁹³ Quoted in *Baltimore American*, September 10, 1862.

⁹⁴ Schenck was a lawyer who served as a Whig Congressman from Ohio, 1843-1851. He was Minister to Brazil 1851-1853. In 1861-1862 he was Brigadier General, of Volunteers in Virginia and West Virginia. He again served in Congress, 1863-1871 after which he was Minister to Great Britain, 1870-1876. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950), 1782.

⁹⁵ *Baltimore American*, December 25, 1862.

the future. He was said to be more than just an improvement and to possess that "needed discrimination and activity in the discharge of his important duties such as cannot but serve to cheer the hearts of all loyal men." He was expected to bring to his new duties "that patriotic, though tempered, zeal needful" in a community so "afflicted with divisions."⁹⁶

Governor Bradford wrote to former Governor Hicks that Schenck was the man for the "time and place" and that he expected Baltimore to be a more loyal city under the new command. An unusually strong man was needed, the Governor said, because the "bitterness of our Baltimore secessionists is from what I see and hear more rancorous than ever. The liberation of the Fort Warren prisoners has set them all no doubt, systematically to work again. They give out their malignity as they pass along the streets and look like muzzled mastiffs waiting only the opportunity to slip the leash."⁹⁷

General Schenck was honored at a banquet given by loyal citizens on January 23, 1863, with Governor Bradford presiding. All seemed pleased with the prospects of Schenck's military rule. But, once he had assumed office, many Marylanders regretted his appointment. They discovered he was not only a military commander, but frequently a bitter political partisan. According to one historian his regime was

rendered particularly odious by the blustering energy and arbitrary arrests and persecutions instituted by his provost-marshal, William S. Fish. Pictures, colors, songs, and writings that were freely permitted in Boston or New York were rendered treasonable in Baltimore, and the next few months saw a series of arrests for real or alleged petty offenses that would have done credit to autocratic Russia. Military trials and imprisonments were conducted by methods which seemed to be desperately calculated to inflict the greatest amount of humiliation.⁹⁸

Protests of new military outrages came to Governor Bradford from many points in the State. In Harford County grain was

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Bradford to Hicks, December 29, 1862. *Bradford MSS.*

⁹⁸ Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, I, 871-872. John Fulton in *Southern Rights and Union Parties in Maryland Contrasted* (pamphlet), 22, though a partial witness, declared: "The author or agent of these wrongs did not pretend to respect the forms of law, nor did they generally condescend to prefer even informally, any specific charges against those whom they have thus thrust into prison . . ."

seized and a dispute resulted over compensation.⁹⁹ From Charles County complaints came that Colonel James R. Swain of Schenck's command had interfered with county police arrangements and induced slaves to escape. Schenck removed Swain from his command for these and other charges and placed that part of Charles County between the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers under Brigadier-General H. H. Lockwood.¹⁰⁰

Schenck was responsible for many actions regarded as oppressive. John Pendleton Kennedy wrote that "Schenck is producing a terrible flutter of crinoline in the neighborhood, and is regarded as the Danton and Haynau of the age. He even forbids the birds to sing 'My Maryland,' a tyranny which has turned all the crotches into demi-semi-quavers."¹⁰¹ On March 7, 1863, Schenck issued an order prohibiting the sale of secession music in his Department, and directed publishers to send such music to his headquarters. Four days later the sale of pictures of rebel soldiers and statesmen was forbidden.¹⁰² Lines from a poem, secretly written and published in Maryland, describe the prevailing military control:

In Maryland we nothing better are,
Than subjects of the Sultan or the Czar.
Banished, imprisoned, plundered at a word
From Aga Stanton, or from Bashaw Seward—
Dependent on a general's caprice
For leave to trade or worship God in peace
Forbid a ribbon or a song to buy
That vexes a policemen's ear or eye—
Oppressed and ruined here, disgraced abroad—
Victims alternately of force and fraud—
Men only mention now our Country's name
To tell the Story of her woes and shame.¹⁰³

The ardent Unionists, however, stood solidly behind Schenck.

⁹⁹ See letter of Joseph Farnandis of Harford County to Bradford, January 24, 1863, and Bradford's reply, February 5, 1863. *Executive Letter Book*, 365-369. See *Ibid.*, 369-370, 385-386 for similar correspondence.

¹⁰⁰ See correspondence of Bradford and Schenck, and of others to and from Bradford, *Executive Letter Book* (Maryland), 359-361, 364-365, 372-373, 380-382, 386, 375-377. Correspondence dated January and February, 1863.

¹⁰¹ Quoted by Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871), 314.

¹⁰² Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VI, "Diary," 52-54.

¹⁰³ See "Letters from a Maryland Mail Bag," in *Maryland Pamphlets*, 1861-1863, I, 5-7. Dated March, 1863, but no author or publisher listed for the pamphlet.

The City Union Convention passed a resolution in May, 1863, which fully supported his policies.¹⁰⁴ Late in June, General Schenck suspended the Maryland Club, charging that it had generated into a "resort for those disaffected toward the government, hostile to its legally constituted authorities, and who give countenance, encouragement, and aid to the unnatural and causeless rebellion by which our institutions and national integrity are sought to be overthrown."¹⁰⁵

The same month witnessed the closing of the Alston Association Club and the Germania Club.¹⁰⁶ Arrests seemed to mount instead of decreasing for such reasons as disloyal or alleged treasonable sentiments and practises, resisting enrollment, being refugees from the South, not giving information to officers, helping wounded rebels with food and supplies, seditious language, spying, and many others.¹⁰⁷ John Fulton, a "Southern Rights" advocate, said that martial law had overthrown the Constitution of the State. Moreover

Brutal outrages such as had never disgraced the soil of Maryland, and acts of petty tyranny which any man would, a twelvemonth before, have been ashamed to order to execute, were perpetrated without eliciting a word of public remonstrance or denunciation from the Union party. Persons were dragged from their homes upon the mere order of some contemptible underling of the government. The houses of citizens were canvassed and ransacked in the search for arms, paper and flags; and oftentimes without even the pretext of an excuse for the outrage being vouchsafed to the occupants. Free speech became an act of treason, which the government agencies punished as they chose, and persons of both sexes and of all ages were over and over again arrested for some casual remark which was disrespectful to the Government and therefore deemed to be disloyal. Even the unconscious utterances of the drunken reveller were noted by the active agents of Mr. Lincoln, and numbers of men were arrested for having in their cups said something that savored of respect for Mr. Jefferson Davis or Stonewall Jackson.¹⁰⁸

When Lee's army was on its way to Pennsylvania, General Schenck on June 30, 1863 issued a proclamation establishing martial law in Maryland.¹⁰⁹ He also issued "Orders Under Martial

¹⁰⁴ *Baltimore American*, May 26, 27, 1863.

¹⁰⁵ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, III (1863), 615.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; A. H. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, 474.

¹⁰⁷ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, II (1863), 610-613.

¹⁰⁸ *Southern Rights and Union Parties in Maryland Contrasted*, 22.

¹⁰⁹ *O. R.*, Series 1, XXVII, Part 3, 437-438.

Law " that regulated the sale of arms and ammunition within his Department, required properly issued passes of persons leaving Baltimore, closed more clubs and similar resorts until further notice, required that bars, coffee-houses and drinking saloons should be closed from 8 p. m. to 8 a. m. under penalty of punishment to violators, and finally directed that "the stores, shops, manufactories, and other places of business other than apothecary shops and printing offices of daily journals, be closed at 5 p. m., for the purpose of giving patriotic citizens an opportunity to drill and make themselves expert in the use of arms." ¹¹⁰

Martial law and Schenck's accompanying orders were received with the usual protests from the people of Maryland, both loyal and disloyal. Yet, on July 2, further restrictions were placed upon them. "Unless enrolled in volunteer companies for the defense of their homes," citizens were not allowed to have arms within their homes. The Provost-Marshal and the police searched many homes for arms in accordance with this order.¹¹¹ Outwardly, Schenck had Maryland so loyal that a Baltimore correspondent could report the following interview with some rebel prisoners at Boonsboro:

'What do you think of Maryland now?'

'Maryland be ----. I tell you sir, she's the most loyal State in your ---- Union. You may bet your life upon that.

We don't want her; keep her; she is *your* Maryland now!'

'Are you satisfied with your attempt at invasion?'

'None of us common soldiers wanted to come North, but I guess General Lee's satisfied. He won't try it . . . again.' Just then the command was given. 'Prisoners fall in!' ¹¹²

There was great rejoicing among many when General Schenck decided to run for Congress in the Dayton District of Ohio in November 1863. He was elected by a large vote over Clement L. Vallandigham. Upon his departure the *Baltimore American* stated with restraint that Schenck had "satisfactorily discharged the arduous duties of commander. . . ." ¹¹³ He was succeeded tempor-

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 437. *Baltimore American*, July 1, 1863.

¹¹¹ Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, "Diary," 22.

¹¹² *Baltimore American*, July 23, 1863.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, December 7, 1863; *Baltimore Sun*, November 23, 1863. December 7, 1863.

arily by General Henry H. Lockwood, senior officer next in rank in the Department. Lockwood had distinguished himself in the field, particularly at Gettysburg where he commanded a brigade. Lately he had been in command of forces at Harper's Ferry and vicinity. Well known in Maryland, his appointment was generally well received. Soon, however, he was replaced by Major General Lewis Wallace.

Martial law, established by Schenck on June 30, was suspended after the November, 1863 election. Some notorious arrests were made in connection with this election.¹¹⁴ Ex-Governor Thomas G. Pratt was arrested again and refused to take the oath. He was ordered South and detained at Fort Monroe. Colonel Joseph Nicholson, for many years clerk of the Maryland Senate and later of the United States Senate, also refused to take the oath when arrested.¹¹⁵

In the spring of 1864 military authorities considered proclaiming martial law again in Maryland, particularly on the Eastern Shore. There, Southern sentiment continued to manifest itself in various ways. Rebel spies and other agents were aided, the escape of prisoners of war facilitated, contraband trade encouraged, soldiers for the Confederacy recruited and taken South, and important information communicated South.¹¹⁶ Martial law was not imposed on these counties at this time, however.

Baltimore steadily grew more loyal in 1864.¹¹⁷ But the State was still greatly divided upon some of the war issues. The close vote on the Constitution of 1864 was indicative of this,¹¹⁸ as was the vigilance over the elections of 1864 by Federal officials.¹¹⁹ The Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland were especially hostile to the emancipation of slaves on November 1. Disloyalty and opposition had to be suppressed by force. The question of slavery in general took on serious proportions in Maryland as slaves were freed by provisions of the new Constitution.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ Clark, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*, 99-114. This 1863 election was renewed evidence of the Federal Government's determination to keep any Southern sympathy and overt action suppressed.

¹¹⁵ *O. R.*, Series 2, VI, 584, 603, 607; *Baltimore Sun*, December 1, 12, 1863; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 11, 1864.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Series 1, XXXVII, Part 1, 375. Report by General Lewis Wallace.

¹¹⁷ *Baltimore American*, May 7, 1864.

¹¹⁸ Clark, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*, 190-197.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 117-127.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 159-201.

The number of arrests, while large in 1864, was less than in 1863. Gradually, as the military forces under General Grant asserted supremacy over those of General Lee, Maryland prepared for a Union victory.¹²¹ An ironic twist to the arbitrary arrests of the Federal Government was the development in Washington County in early August, 1864. Seven prominent citizens of that county were ordered arrested as hostages by General J. A. Early of the Confederate Army. Ordered to come before him at Williamsport, they were released on parole to report in Richmond in two weeks. They were: Reverend Dr. John B. Kerfoot, President of Saint James College in Washington County; Reverend Mr. Coit, a professor at the same institution; Isaac Nesbitt, Clerk of the Circuit Court; Andrew H. Hager, a leading miller and merchant of Hagerstown; Frederick C. McComas, inspector of whiskey under national revenue laws; Reverend Mr. Edwards, rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Hagerstown; and Reverend Mr. Hyde, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Judge D. Weisel of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Maryland appealed to President Lincoln to secure the release of these men, giving as references United States Senators Reverdy Johnson and Thomas H. Hicks, United States Representatives Thomas and Webster, and others. But there is no record of their exchange as prisoners of war or of their release.¹²²

¹²¹ See accounts of military officers stationed on the Eastern Shore. *O. R.*, Series 1, XLIII, Part 2, 632, 728-729, 927.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Series 2, VII, 576-578.

THE METHODIST CHRISTMAS CONFERENCE: BALTIMORE

DECEMBER 24, 1784—JANUARY 2, 1785

By N. C. HUGHES, JR.

THE Revolutionary War generated a host of problems for American society. Inflation stalked the land; economic and social dislocation spread down to the fingertips of the nation. Few individuals or institutions escaped. For some the Revolution had enriched and blessed—for others it had impoverished and ironically deceived. The outcome for one institution, the group of Methodist societies, remained uncertain. Its fate did not seem doubtful to one contemporary, however. He interpreted events as hostile to the development of the young sect, prophesying that efforts on their part to construct new chapels would be foolhardy for “. . . by the time [the war] is over a corncrib will hold them all.”¹

One might agree after surveying the physical and spiritual wreckage. Material losses hurt not only the Methodists, but every religious group. Chapels and congregations had been devoured by the opposing armies, hungry for hospitals and soldiers. With the seaboard nation a battlefield, conditions hardly seemed propitious for religious revival. Indeed some observers contended that moral apathy characterized Americans; even the evangelical Baptists: “God sent them liberty and with it leanness of soul.”²

In many respects the American Methodists occupied a more tenuous position during the war than the other religious groups.

¹ Holland Nimmons McTyeire, *A History of Methodism: Comprising a View of the Rise of This Revival of Spiritual Religion in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Principal Agents by Whom It Was Promoted in Europe and America; with Some Account of the Doctrine and Polity of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, and the Means and Manner of Its Extension Down to A. D. 1884* (Nashville, 1891), p. 345.

² William Warren Sweet, *Virginia Methodism: A History* (Richmond, 1955), p. 99.

They were not an independent, organized denomination—merely a revivalistic society within the Church of England. For sacraments they depended upon the Anglicans and the other Protestant churches. The scarcity of Anglican priests and the restrictions of other denominations kept many Methodists from even these altars. Sacramental destitution was not the only problem. Most of Wesley's missionaries remained loyal to the Crown. All returned to England during the Revolution with the exception of Francis Asbury. The Methodists prior to the war had depended heavily upon John Wesley, their doctrinal and inspirational fountain-head. The war severed communications with Wesley and deprived the American Methodists of their leader. Wesley, facing the choice between his American followers and his king, decided to uphold the British cause. He contributed pamphlets supporting the efforts of the Crown and revealed his displeasure with the Americans. "I find a danger now of a new kind—a danger of losing my love for the Americans; I mean their leaders; for the poor sheep are more sinned against than sinning."³ In America, moreover, both Methodist preachers and people sometimes suffered persecution. Abandoned abroad and suspect at home, the American Methodists came to view their own independence jealously.

At the close of the American Revolution Methodism was primarily an urban movement. Wesley had emphasized the city, and not until after the Christmas Conference did the wholesale penetration of the black forest begin. In its early period in America, Methodism lacked educated leadership. Preachers stressed the aspects of religion that they and the masses understood. Emotionalism marked their meetings and brought ridicule in an age of rationalists. "The charge preferred against us was not hypocrisy, but enthusiasm." We are known to be ". . . illiterate, unsound in our principles, and enthusiastic in our spirit and practice. . . ."⁴

Organizationally, the Americans depended upon Wesley's unordained missionaries and upon native lay preachers. To regulate and coordinate the work of the missionaries and preachers, Wesley

³ J. Wesley to C. Wesley, October 17, 1775, quoted in William Warren Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (New York, 1933), pp. 83-84. Hereinafter cited as Sweet, *Methodism*.

⁴ Thomas Ware, *Sketches of the Life and Travels of Rev. Thomas Ware, Who Has Been an Itinerant Methodist Preacher for More Than Fifty Years* (New York, 1933), pp. 83-84. Hereinafter cited as Ware, *Life and Travels*.

had delegated executive power to a general assistant. The war, however, wrecked Wesley's organization, and as the missionaries and general assistants returned to England, the Americans turned to the lay preachers. These men took over the old circuits and continued the work in an independent and unorthodox fashion. During the war they met in conference to resolve immediate organizational problems and appointed a committee to oversee the affairs of American Methodism. This act represented a bold departure in the history of the church. In the past Wesley had used the English conference merely as an advisory body and doubtless intended for the American conference to remain in a similar position.

Later in the Revolutionary War the American conference again took the initiative and appointed Francis Asbury to occupy the vacant office of general assistant.⁵ Such executive action further signified the increasing independence and responsibility of the conference. Wesley, however, approved in a letter to a North Carolina preacher.

When the Government in America is settled, I believe some of our Brethren will be ready to come over. I cannot advise them to do it yet. First let us see how Providence opens itself. And I am the less in haste, because I am persuaded Bro: Asbury is raised up to preserve Order among you, & to do just what I should do myself if it pleased God to bring me to America.⁶

Asbury's leadership soon ran afoul of a growing reaction on the part of the American preachers against authority. Early in the Revolution the Virginia Methodists, acting as good Wesleyans, had demonstrated their loyalty to the established church by opposing the other sects that wished to divorce church and state.⁷ By 1779, however, the complexion of American Methodism, or more specifically Methodism in the southern states, was changing. The Methodist societies failed to resist the separatist fever which the Revolutionary air induced. Rumblings for or an American organization became audible. Moreover demands were being heard for an independent Methodist church. This trend culminated in the

⁵ Edward Frank Humphrey, *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789* (Boston, 1924), p. 179.

⁶ J. Wesley to E. Dromgoole, September 17, 1783, in Edward Dromgoole Papers, the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Hereinafter cited as Dromgoole Papers.

⁷ Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 101.

Fluvanna Conference held in Virginia during 1779. The Conference appointed a committee and gave it the powers of ordination.⁸ Actually the preachers who proposed this drastic step extended Wesley's own logic as a basis for their action. They reasoned that ". . . if God had called them to preach, he had called them also to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper."⁹ The Fluvanna Conference thus repudiated the episcopal form of government by vesting sovereignty in the preachers assembled in conference.

To meet this challenge of the Virginia and North Carolina preachers, the northern ministers met and resolved to send Asbury and two other ministers to confer with the southerners and draw them back into the old organization.¹⁰ Asbury met the southern preachers at Manakintown, Virginia the following year. After prolonged discussion the separatists compromised and agreed to give up the administration of ordinances for one year while Asbury promised to use his influence with Wesley regarding a remedy for the sacramental deficiencies in America. With this agreement the "newside" movement, as it was called, temporarily collapsed and Asbury triumphed.¹¹ Yet, it was evident to all that if a solution was not reached soon, the Methodist organization would be shattered. One contemporary remarked:

The struggle . . . [has] continued so long that there is reason to believe, if it had not been for the influence of Mr. Asbury, the societies in America would have assumed the character of an independent church, and had the ordinances duly administered to them. . . . Nor was the influence of Mr. Asbury, great as it was, sufficient to restrain the societies and keep them in that condition much longer. This I learned the first conference I attended.¹²

From 1781 to 1784 Asbury, with the united support of the northern preachers, maintained a loose form of organization. He kept urging Wesley for assistance and in 1783 pointed out the infeasibility of long range control. Asbury also suggested that he

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

⁹ Thomas B. Neely, *A History of the Origin and Development of the Governing Conference in Methodism, and Especially of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1892), p. 147. Hereinafter cited as Neely, *Governing Conference*.

¹⁰ Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 95.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96; E. Dromgoole to F. Asbury, December 29, 1805, in Dromgoole Papers.

¹² Ware, *Life and Travels*, pp. 110-111.

should retain the authority that he had won in America for he believed that no individual

. . . can manage the Lay Preachers here so well, . . . as one that has been in the raising of most of them. No man can make a proper change upon paper to send one here, and another [there] without knowing the Circuits and the gifts of all the Preachers, unless he is always among them.¹³

By 1784 there were eighty-four Methodist preachers and almost fifteen thousand members in America.¹⁴ Restive southern societies constituted the bulk of the membership. Torn by internal dissent, deprived of the sacraments, and lacking normal leadership, American Methodism was incapable of realizing its potentialities. The status quo could no longer be maintained.

Early in 1784 John Wesley took steps which ultimately touched off basic changes in American Methodism. He had failed to secure ordination for prospective missionaries, and fearing further delay, he felt free to appoint a stronger executive for America. Wesley then approached Thomas Coke, a young Methodist, who was an ordained minister and who had achieved success in Irish mission work. Coke responded to Wesley's inquiries and agreed to go to America. In July, 1784 Wesley appointed Coke and two other English Methodist preachers, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, as missionaries to America. In September Wesley went farther and ordained Whatcoat and Vasey as deacons and then as elders. The following day he ordained Coke superintendent. The ordination appears to have been at Coke's request.¹⁵ In addition to the administrative functions of the general assistant, the superintendent possessed the perpetuating power of ordination. As elders in America, Whatcoat and Vasey were to serve the dual functions of satisfying the need for the administration of the sacraments and of assisting in the ordination of Asbury as superintendent.¹⁶

¹³ F. Asbury to J. Wesley, September 20, 1783, quoted in William Warren Sweet, *The Methodists, a Collection of Source Documents*; William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840* (Chicago, 1946), IV, 15. Hereinafter cited as Sweet, *The Methodists*.

¹⁴ C. C. Goss, *Statistical History of the First Century of American Methodism: With a Summary of the Origin and Present Operations of Other Denominations* (New York, 1866), p. 51.

¹⁵ T. Coke to J. Wesley, August 9, 1784, L. Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A., Founder of the Methodists*, 3 vol. (New York, 1872), II, p. 225.

¹⁶ Abel Stevens, *The Centenary of American Methodism: A Sketch of Its History, Theology, Practical System, and Success* (New York, 1866), p. 215.

Wesley's intentions at this time have long been the subject of controversy, but it seems apparent that he took action to forestall the possible loss of the Methodist societies in America. By empowering Coke and Asbury as co-superintendents Wesley could restore his administrative control and alleviate the sacramental needs of the people. Now America would have a self-sustaining, ordained clergy answerable to the superintendents and ultimately to Wesley himself.¹⁷ Most evidence shows that Wesley did not intend to establish an independent church in America; certainly he did not wish to create a Methodist organization independent of his authority.¹⁸

Before Coke's departure Wesley prepared three documents to explain his actions to the Americans. Asbury and the American Methodists came to regard these documents as a mandate and as the basis for their later acts. In the first document Wesley stated the situation which caused him to ordain Thomas Coke.

By a very uncommon train of providences many of the Provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the Mother Country and erected into independent States. The English Government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the States of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the Provincial Assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all.¹⁹

Wesley went on to say that the Bishop of London had previously declined to ordain Methodist missionaries, and he believed that the Anglican Church would demand authority over the societies if the bishop reversed his decision. ". . . Therefore my scruples are at an end, and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest."²⁰ Wesley defended his assumption of the power of ordination by referring to the ancient Christian practices expounded in Lord King's *Account of the Primitive Church*.

¹⁷ It is revealing to note the similarity between the office of superintendent which Coke and Asbury held and the office of Superintendent of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada which Jean Oliver Briand held in 1766. In both instances the title of superintendent disguised the real office and power of bishop.

¹⁸ For a full and penetrating examination of Wesley's attitudes and intentions, see John Alfred Faulkner, *Burning Questions in Historic Christianity* (New York, 1930).

¹⁹ J. Wesley to "Our Bretheren in America," September 10, 1784, John Wesley, *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M. Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*, 8 vol. Edited by John Telford (London, 1931), VII, 239.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, 237-238.

Next he announced that Coke and Asbury would be superintendents and that Whatcoat and Vasey would serve as elders. Wesley told the Americans that he had prepared a *Sunday Service* for them and that he expected the preachers to use it. Also entrusted to Coke were two other documents. The first, which has since disappeared, outlined Wesley's plans for American Methodism.²¹ The second testified to Coke's ordination.²²

Thomas Coke embarked upon his American adventure September 18, 1784 and landed in New York on November 3 after an "agreeable passage."²³ Coke quickly perceived that his arrival had been anticipated. "By some means or other, the whole continent, so it were, expects me."²⁴ John Dickens, a local preacher, welcomed Coke and the two elders. Dickens rejoiced to learn that Asbury would be appointed superintendent and that a workable Methodist organization would soon be established. He urged Coke to make the plans public. Soon Coke left New York and proceeded south to find Asbury. He publicized Wesley's plans to Methodists but appears to have kept the news from the Episcopal rectors even though he conducted services in their churches.²⁵

From New York Coke journeyed to Philadelphia, on through Delaware, and into Maryland. On Sunday, November 14, 1784 he met Asbury at Barratt's Chapel in Kent County. The meeting was dramatic. Asbury entered while Coke was conducting the service. He expressed surprise at finding Coke and was "greatly surprised" to see Whatcoat administering the sacraments. At the conclusion of the service Asbury rushed forward and greeted Coke. It was a happy moment for both. Afterwards they adjourned to Mrs. Barratt's for dinner.²⁶ When they had completed the meal Coke took Asbury aside and informed him of Wesley's plans.

[Asbury] . . . expressed considerable doubts concerning it, which I rather applaud than otherwise; but informed me that he had received some

²¹ This document, according to contemporary Methodist scholars, has either been lost or destroyed. Some of the older accounts, unfavorable to either Coke or Asbury or both, intimate that it may have been purposely repressed.

²² Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 104.

²³ September 18, 1784 and November 3, 1784 entries, Thomas Coke, "The Journal of Thomas Coke," *Methodist Review* (September-October, 1896), XLIV, 3, 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁵ Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 25.

²⁶ Coke, *loc. cit.*, 8.

intimations of my arrival on the continent; and as he thought it probable I might meet him on that day, and might have something of importance to communicate to him from Mr. Wesley, he had therefore called together a considerable number of the preachers to form a council; and if they were of opinion that it would be expedient immediately to call a conference, it should be done. They were accordingly called, and after debate, were unanimously of opinion that it would be best immediately to call a conference of all the traveling preachers on the continent.²⁷

When Coke informed Asbury that Wesley intended for him to be ordained as superintendent, Asbury replied, “. . . if the preachers unanimously chuse [sic] me, I shall not act in the capacity I have hitherto done by Mr. Wesley’s appointment.”²⁸ Asbury’s decision to give up his position as general assistant and to serve as superintendent only if the conference elected him, was of great importance to American Methodism. Through the darkened glass of historical hindsight one can interpret this decision as a religious dramatization or reenactment of the Independence movement. Implicitly, at least, it was a stroke against external authority and another evidence of substituting representative government for paternalism. As a realist Asbury knew that he ran little risk at the hands of the conference. He had recruited many of the preachers himself and knew he had the confidence of the conference. Furthermore Asbury must have known that such procedure would be in tune with the prevailing democratic sentiment.

The group of ministers at Mrs. Barratt’s decided to call a special conference to meet in Baltimore at Christmas. One of their number, Freeborn Garrettson, left immediately for Virginia and North Carolina to summon the preachers. Before Coke and Asbury left Mrs. Barratt’s, they agreed to attempt to establish a school or college in Maryland and decided to use the next five weeks to collect contributions. Asbury mapped a long and arduous itinerary for Coke—nearly a thousand miles through many of the backwoods areas. Coke would bring the sacraments to those who had been so long without them, and Asbury probably intended that the trip would familiarize Coke with conditions confronting the

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ November 15, 1784 entry, Francis Asbury, *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church from August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815*, 3 vol. (New York, 1821), I, 376. Hereinafter cited as *Asbury, Journal*.

American circuit rider. Asbury procured a horse for him and sent a popular Negro preacher, "Black Harry Hosier," to accompany him.²⁹

The next five weeks passed swiftly for the Methodists. Coke became saddlesore and weary as he plodded mile after mile, day after day through the countryside. He learned a great deal about America and witnessed at first hand the startling need for ordained ministers. "Perhaps I have in this little tour baptized more children and adults than I should have in my whole life, if stationed in an *English* parish."³⁰ Asbury, Whatcoat, and Vasey traveled in another section of the Mid-Atlantic states. Unlike Coke, Asbury spent more time pondering than observing. In his diary he admitted that the new proposals troubled him, and at nearly every town he carefully surveyed public opinion. As his journey came to a close Asbury's mind appeared to have resolved the problem. ". . . The preachers and people seem to be much pleased with the projected plan; I myself am led to think it is of the Lord."³¹

Coke and Asbury met again on December 14, on the shore of Chesapeake Bay. When they compared the sums they had collected for the college it totalled over one thousand pounds in currency and in land.³² The two men rode from the Chesapeake to Perry Hall, a mansion near Baltimore, where they remained until December 24.

Perry Hall was the pride of American Methodism. It stood as one of the finest homes in the section, "a rallying point for the Wesleyans in that part of the country."³³ Henry Dorsey Gough, its owner, was a prized convert and unique among his more financially austere brethren. William Black, who had established Methodism in Nova Scotia and who was shopping for ministerial reinforcements, remarked, Gough ". . . is a Methodist, and supposed to be worth one hundred thousand pounds. He is not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. He has built a neat stone meeting-house, entertains the circuit preachers, and at times preaches himself, and

²⁹ Coke, *loc. cit.*, 8-9; November 15, 1784 entry, Asbury, *Journal*, I, 376.

³⁰ December 6, 1784 entry, Coke, *loc. cit.*, 11.

³¹ November 26, 1784 entry, Asbury, *Journal*, I, 377.

³² Coke, *loc. cit.*, 9.

³³ For paintings and an interesting account of Perry Hall and its owners, see Edith Rossiter Bevan, "Perry Hall: County Seat of the Gough and Carroll Families," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (March, 1950), 33-46.

thus he continued to do during the late war, at the risk of his immense estate.”³⁴ While at Perry Hall, Coke and Asbury agreed upon the type of school they wished to found. They primarily occupied themselves with hammering out the agenda for the coming conference with the aid of a group of local preachers. While Coke and Asbury enjoyed the hospitality of Perry Hall, Methodist preachers in clusters of two and three pushed through the snow toward Baltimore. On the morning of the 24th Coke and Asbury left Perry Hall and rode into town.

The psychological timing of the Christmas Conference is worthy of note. It came at a time in the church year which stressed preparation and anticipation. These men came together to celebrate the good news of the Christian world and to receive the good news of their spiritual leaders. The warmth of the occasion would go far toward melting the reservations of the conservatives and would be disseminated through the returning preachers to their congregations.

The annual conferences and quarterly meetings held by the Methodist preachers always provided them with pleasurable experiences. They met their fellow workers, discussed their mutual problems and adventures, and recharged the batteries of their personalities. These meetings also provided spiritual instruction and inspiration through the worship services.

The Christmas Conference convened in a setting conducive to vigorous action. Baltimore was one of the five largest American cities and the fastest growing. Thickly populated with Methodists, it represented the geographic heart of the Methodist movement and promised a cordial reception. The building that would house the conference was a simple structure. Built just before the war, Lovely Lane Chapel stood near the center of town just south of Baltimore Street. Already the chapel had acquired a history. The famous Captain Webb had preached here; and here the first Baltimore Conference had been held.³⁵ The Baltimore Methodists had thoughtfully reconditioned the chapel prior to the Christmas conference. They had provided backs for the benches and a large stove to warm the interior.³⁶

The assembling Methodist preachers were a strikingly young

³⁴ Neely, *Governing Conference*, p. 259.

³⁵ Annie Leakin Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (New York, 1931), p. 148.

³⁶ Coke, *loc. cit.*, 14.

group. Most had served in their spiritual capacity only a few years. Their youth tended to make them more enthusiastic in response to proposed change. Their youth also signified that during the critical decades ahead American Methodists would have a continuity of leadership; leadership inspired by and dedicated to the experience and spirit of the Christmas Conference. Approximately sixty of the eighty-one American preachers were present. They came from as far north as Nova Scotia and at least as far south as North Carolina.

The personalities of Asbury and Coke dominated the Conference. Asbury, a familiar figure for the preachers, was a short, grave-looking man, forever attired in "black and remarkably plain" clothes.³⁷ Restless, driving, and ambitious for his faith, he commanded the respect and obedience of most American Methodists. Uneducated, pious, and capable of unbelievable endurance, he stood as the prototype of rough American Methodism. Thomas Coke, on the other hand, symbolized the scholarly and respectable side of Methodism. A fellow at Oxford, Dr. Coke had been closely associated with Wesley. He was outgoing by nature and a witty, delightful conversationalist. The American preachers, however, distrusted the Englishman and compared him unfavorably with Asbury. "His stature, complexion, and voice, resembled those of a woman rather than of a man; and his manners were too courtly for me."³⁸

The mood of the conference seemed to have inhaled the warmth and optimism of Advent. It remained in the memories of its members as unique for its seriousness of purpose and spirit of sincere cooperation. To transact their business the Methodists employed the customary device of questions and answers. "As well as I can remember every thing or measure that was proposed was put to the vote, and a majority carried it."³⁹ On Christmas Day, with Coke presiding, the basic questions were asked: debate followed and then the vote.

³⁷ D. M. Reese to W. B. Sprague, March 1, 1851, William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Methodist Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished Clergymen of the Methodist Denomination in the United States, From Its Commencement to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Five*, 8 vol. (New York, 1857-1869), VII, 20.

³⁸ Ware, *Life and Travels*, p. 108.

³⁹ E. Dromgoole to F. Asbury, December 29, 1805, in Dromgoole Papers,

1. Whether we should have the Ordinances Administered among us & we should be erected into an independent Church—
Unanimously carried in the affirmative
2. Whether our Church should be that of an Episcopal or Presbyterian Church—
Answered—that of an Episcopal Church, called the Methodist Episcopal Church in America
3. How many Orders of Ministers shall we have—
Ansr: Three—1. Superintendent. 2. Elders. 3. Deacons.
4. That the Superintendent shall have a negative vote in all ordinations—
[Answered in the affirmative, although the Conference stipulated that it had the power “to suspend or turn out a Superintendent.”]⁴⁰

Although radical in nature each of these fundamentals carried by a thumping and reassuring majority.⁴¹ Conservatives braced themselves against the backs of their benches and prepared for a long Christmas. Cautious souls like Thomas Haskins commented inwardly, “Have felt my mind much exercised—yesterday and today on what was done in Conference—I fear *haste will make waste* if we don’t take care.”⁴²

This series of questions furnished only the springboard, however. After the passage of the act of separation the preachers hastened to pass specific proposals to implement their plans. On the 25th Asbury was ordained deacon; he became an elder on the 26th and superintendent on the 27th.⁴³

The ordination of Asbury as superintendent constituted the high point of the Christmas Conference. A subject of many descriptive paragraphs, pictures and orations, it remains one of the great moments in American Methodist history. Lovely Lane Chapel swelled with preachers and with prominent Methodist laymen. Asbury received the office at the hands of Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey. Phillip Otterbein, a personal friend of Asbury assisted in the ordination.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Ruthella Mary Bibbins, *How Methodism Came, The Beginnings of Methodism in England and America* (Baltimore, 1945), p. 155. Hereinafter cited as Bibbins, *How Methodism Came*.

⁴¹ T. A. Kerley, *Conference Rights; or, Governing Principles of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as Found in the History, Legislation, and Administration of the Church* (Nashville, 1898), p. 70.

⁴² Bibbins, *How Methodism Came*, p. 155.

⁴³ Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 2 vol. (New York, 1839-1841), I, 157.

⁴⁴ Otterbein had been in America since 1774 and had held charges in Pennsylvania and Maryland. He is known in American history as the founder of the United Brethren.

In his new capacity Asbury had authority "to ordain superintendents, elders, and deacons; to preside as a moderator in . . . conference; to fix the appointments of the preachers for the several circuits; and in the intervals of the conference, to change, receive or suspend preachers, as necessity may require; and to receive appeals from the preachers and people, and decide them." The American Methodist ministers assembled in conference controlled Asbury's powers and had the right "to expel him for improper conduct."⁴⁵

Following Asbury's ordination Coke preached a sermon defending and explaining the action of the conference. The sermon mounted a heavy attack upon the failings of the Episcopal Church and assailed the marriage of Church and State. This sermon reveals a new Thomas Coke, apparently a convert himself to the radical principles of the Revolution. Wesley might have gasped had he heard the Anglican Church referred to as "filled with the parasites and bottle companions of the rich and great." Dr. Coke went even further saying ". . . the antichristian union which has subsisted between church and state is broken asunder."⁴⁶

By December 27th the last straggling preacher had arrived and the ". . . proceedings on Friday [the 25th] were unanimously agreed to after recapitulation."⁴⁷ The next four days passed swiftly as the conference adopted rules and regulations for their new church. During this period the conference held early services every morning at six o'clock, which the people attended in goodly numbers. Dr. Coke preached every day at noon except on Sundays and ordination days when the service began at ten o'clock. Coke's sermons were popular and the "chapel was full every time." The conference allotted the large noon collections to the mission work in Antigua and Nova Scotia. In the evening the conference divided and services were held at various meeting-houses in Baltimore including Dutch Chapel which Otterbein graciously lent.⁴⁸

On December 31st occurred the only recorded attempt of the Episcopalians to alter the course of events. Two representatives paid an unofficial visit to Asbury and Coke, but found both

⁴⁵ T. Coke Sermon, December 27, 1784, in Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University. Hereinafter cited as Coke Sermon.

⁴⁶ Robert Emory, *History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1844), p. 38. Hereinafter cited as Emory, *History of the Discipline*.

⁴⁷ Bibbins, *How Methodism Came*, p. 155.

⁴⁸ Coke, *loc cit.*, 14.

resolute on separation. Coke compared the two churches to “. . . two earthen basins set afloat in a current of water, which so long as they should continue to float in two parallel lines, would float securely: but the moment they began to converge were in danger of destroying each other.” Asbury avoided the metaphors of his learned colleague and stated the obvious fact that “the difference between us lay not so much in doctrines and forms of worship as in experience and practice.”⁴⁹ The nexus remained broken and the Methodists went on with their work.

The ordination of deacons and elders highlighted the next few days. Individuals considered for ordination were nominated by the superintendent and elected by the conference.⁵⁰ The conference appointed twelve elders and a somewhat larger number of deacons. “When any were proposed for Ordination, they withdrew while [their] character and qualifications were enquired into, and the vote taken. . . . Some of the Preachers who were proposed were rejected, which caused some to murmur, but others were resigned and content.”⁵¹ The functions of a deacon were “. . . to baptize in the absence of an elder, to assist the elder in the administration of the Lord’s Supper, to marry, to bury the dead, and read the liturgy to the people except what relates to the administration of the Lord’s Supper.” The elder possessed greater powers, being entitled “. . . to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper; and to perform all the other rites prescribed by our liturgy.”⁵² Originally the office of elder was not an administrative position. This came only at a later date when the forces of consolidation within the church gained supremacy.

With the ordination of the elders on January 2, 1785 the Christmas Conference came to a close.⁵³ Preachers began their long journeys back to their circuits and stations to relay the news of the creation of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Coke

⁴⁹ Dr. Andrews to Dr. Smith, December 31, 1784, reproduced in Appendix I of John Kewley, *An Enquiry into the Validity of Methodist Episcopacy; with an Appendix Containing Two Original Documents, Never Before Published* (Wilmington, 1807).

⁵⁰ Edward J. Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform Synoptical of General Methodism 1703 to 1898 with Special and Comprehensive Reference to Its Most Salient Exposition in the History of the Methodist Protestant Church* (Norwood, Mass., 1899), p. 283.

⁵¹ E. Dromgoole to F. Asbury, December 29, 1805, in Dromgoole Papers.

⁵² Emory, *History of the Discipline*, p. 39.

⁵³ Sweet, *Methodism*, pp. 20-21.

left Baltimore on January 3rd and made "the coldest ride I ever rode" to Perry Hall. Asbury remained and preached on the 3rd and departed the next day. Most of the participants left joyous; all left thoughtful. One preacher formulated his thoughts in a prayer. "I feel myself uneasy. Oh how tottering I see Methodism now. . . . Keep, Oh keep us from dissensions among ourselves, here our danger lies."⁵⁴

Some misgivings seem plausible when one surveys the sensitive areas to which the Christmas Conference devoted its attention. Scarcely any phase of church life escaped notice and regulations appeared embracing the totality of Methodist activities. Yet, if one examines the basis for the new Methodist Discipline it quickly becomes apparent that the air of sweeping change is illusory; for the preachers fastened their church securely in the bedrock of English Methodist experience. The essence of their doctrine consisted of "Repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." The doctrine exhorted preachers to approach the people earnestly. Their credo would be "I ceased not to warn every one, night and day, with tears."⁵⁵

The conference attacked many of the practical problems troubling the ministry. They defined offices and preaching methods; determined the proper mode of baptism; and standardized the rules for class meetings. They allotted each preacher an annual allowance of "twenty-four pounds (Pennsylvania currency) and no more." A retirement fund was set up, supported by the traveling preachers. The conference discouraged preachers from marrying and forbade the use of intoxicating liquors except as medicine. Elders received assignments for mission work in Antigua and Nova Scotia; while both elders and deacons were distributed to meet the requirements in the United States. As for the laity, the conference decided that "this is no time to give any encouragement to superfluity of apparel." It was certainly not the time to allow mixed seating in the congregations and this practice was prohibited. To eliminate one of the sources for the loss of membership the preachers cautioned against members marrying "unawakened persons."⁵⁶

The doctrinal foundation of American Methodism, like the state

⁵⁴ Bibbins, *How Methodism Came*, p. 155.

⁵⁵ Emory, *History of the Discipline*, p. 33.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

constitutions, incorporated elements of older institutions. Wesley's *Sunday Service* included the Articles of Religion. The conference adopted the Articles but did not incorporate them into the Discipline until 1790.⁵⁷ The Articles had been adapted by Wesley from the familiar Articles of Religion of the Anglican Church. He accepted twenty-four of the thirty-nine articles and added one. The omitted articles included those dealing with Excommunicated Persons, Civil Magistrates, the Descent of Christ into Hell, Works before Justification, Predestination and Election, Of the Authority of the Church, and Of Ministering in the Congregation. The last article had deterred the Methodist movement for it stated "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same."⁵⁸ The important addition to the Anglican Articles was the Methodist article XXIII, "Of the Rules of the United States of America."

The Congress, the general assemblies, the governors, and councils of the states, *as the delegates of the people*, are the rulers of the United States of America, according to the division of power made to them by the general act of confederation, and by the constitutions of their respective states. And the said states ought not to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.⁵⁹

For American Methodist liturgy the conference accepted Wesley's *Sunday Service* which Coke brought with him from England. Wesley prepared the *Sunday Service*, modeling it closely upon the Episcopal *Prayer Book*. Wesley urged the preachers to utilize his *Sunday Service*, but those knowing the rough-and-tumble American circuit rider anticipated the fate of the little book with the formal service.

The college plan sponsored by Coke and Asbury gained acceptance at the Christmas Conference. "The college is to receive for education and board the sons of the Elders and Preachers of the Methodist Church, poor orphans, and the sons of the subscribers and other friends. . . . The institution is also intended for the benefit of young men who are called to preach. . . ." ⁶¹ Cokesbury

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95 ff.

⁵⁹ Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, I, 174.

⁶⁰ John Wesley, *From the Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America* (Chicago, 1903).

⁶¹ Circular signed by Asbury and Coke, quoted in Ancel H. Bennett, *A Concise*

College, as it would be called, was soon built on the shore of the Chesapeake and became an institution stressing classical studies. The dream of Asbury and Coke perished, however, as repeated fires consumed every effort. Nevertheless Cokesbury symbolizes that avid enthusiasm for education which would characterize the Methodists henceforward.

At least the perplexities of education spared the Methodists acute emotional and intellectual conflict which the nemesis of slavery did not. The Christmas Conference threw caution to the winds and advanced upon this thornbush directly. Asbury detested the institution as did many of his colleagues. "If a man-of-war is a 'floating-hell,' . . . [rice plantations] are standing ones: wicked masters, overseers, and negroes, cursing, drinking, no Sabbaths, no sermons."⁶² The Christmas Conference determined "to extirpate the abomination." Preachers in charge of a circuit must keep a record of the number of slaves in the district. Methodists must not buy, sell, or give away their Negroes. If they did so they would be excluded from the meetings of the society. Furthermore each slaveholder must release every slave between forty and forty-five at once. The younger slaves were to be freed within a given period of time.⁶³ Thus at the Christmas Conference one finds one of the first organized anti-slavery movements. This sentiment would continue clear and strong until the death of Asbury. After 1816 the movement submerged in the name of union. It would arise again in 1844.

If the slavery regulations touched areas delicate to the laity, the Wesley binder impinged upon the sensitive core of the conference's sovereignty. This measure, adopted probably at the insistence of Coke, would cause great embarrassment in subsequent years. It stated that ". . . during the lifetime of the Rev. John Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands."⁶⁴

These enactments by the Christmas Conference evoked a mixed response from clergy and laity. Within two years the Methodist

History of the Methodist Protestant Church, From Its Origin: with Biographical Sketches of Several Leading Ministers of the Denominations, and also a Sketch of the Author's Life. Third Edition (Pittsburg, 1887), pp. 215-216.

⁶² Ezra Squier Tipple, *The Heart of Asbury's Journal* (New York, 1904), p. 375.

⁶³ Emory, *History of the Discipline*, pp. 43 ff; Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 111.

⁶⁴ Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 115.

conference abrogated the Wesley binder.⁶⁵ In the same year the preachers sharply limited Coke's powers as superintendent.⁶⁶ By the end of 1787 one could say with certainty that the umbilical cord of American Methodism had been completely severed. As the Methodists adjusted and strengthened their governmental machinery other proposals of the Christmas Conference fell aside. The slavery regulation provoked such an outburst of southern resentment that it had to be suspended in early 1785;⁶⁷ but the dragon's teeth had been sown. Wesley's *Sunday Service* never found favor with the itinerants and came to be disregarded.⁶⁸

Edward Dromgoole provided an instance of Methodist opinion in the spring following the conference. He found considerable disaffection in the South and believed that many of the preachers appointed by the conference faced rejection at the hands of their congregations.⁶⁹ Thomas Haskins appeared discouraged with the results of the Christmas Conference and friends of the society like Devereux Jarratt openly voiced their displeasure. Coke, himself, came to regret his radicalism of 1784. ". . . I am not sure but I went farther in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley . . . did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right to do, with Episcopal authority, but did not intend I think, that an entire separation should take place."⁷⁰ Coke reinforced this pronouncement by working secretly for reunion, but Asbury and the others resisted all efforts to draw them back into the Anglican Church or to reunite them with the English Methodists.

Favorable opinion outweighed the voices of negation, however. William Watters, a contemporary preacher, observed that the work of the Christmas Conference occasioned "great satisfaction through all our societies."⁷¹ Another commentator reinforced

⁶⁵ Ware, *Life and Travels*, p. 130.

⁶⁶ Neely, *Governing Conference*, pp. 274 ff.

⁶⁷ Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists in the United States of America; Beginning in 1766, and Continued till 1809* (Baltimore, 1810), p. 102. Hereinafter cited as Lee, *Short History of the Methodists*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁶⁹ E. Dromgoole to F. Asbury, December 29, 1805, in Dromgoole Papers.

⁷⁰ T. Coke to W. White, April 24, 1791, quoted in William White, *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, from Its Organization Up to the Present Day: Containing, I. A Narrative of the Organization and of the Early Measures of the Church; II. Additional Statements and Remarks; III. An Appendix of Original Papers*. Second Edition (New York, 1836), pp. 343-344.

⁷¹ Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 112.

Watters' view. "The Methodists were pretty generally pleased at our becoming a church, and heartily united together in the plan which the conference had adopted."⁷² Perhaps the most reliable means for judging the reaction is to note the remarkable expansion of Methodism. At the time of Asbury's death in 1816 Methodist membership had increased from 15,000 to 140,000. Now 2500 preachers instead of 80 spread the gospel in the United States. Its circuits stretched from the Mississippi to the Atlantic and from the Gulf to Newfoundland.⁷³

This prodigious growth may be attributed to a number of causes, but in discussing them one must invariably return to its flexible organization. The dynamics of Methodism rest upon administrative strength and stunning evangelism. Remove either and the epic proportions of the circuit rider shrink to the futility of emotionalists wandering in the forest. To insist that the Christmas Conference envisioned this, would press the point beyond credulity. Asbury and Coke nevertheless knew that organizational deficiency crippled their efforts and that a remedy must be found. They saw the possibilities of an episcopal government as Coke pointed out at the time of Asbury's ordination.

But of all forms of [church government], we think a moderate Episcopacy the best. The executive power being lodged in the hands of one, or at least a few, vigour & activity are given to [the] resolves of [the] body, and those two essential requisites of any grand undertaking are sweetly united—calmness & wisdom in deliberating; and in the executive department, expedition of force.⁷⁴

The Christmas Conference should be credited with providing American Methodism with vital administrative machinery. It altered the common Episcopal form by granting overall direction to the superintendents who were, in turn, accountable to the conference. "Instead of one man or few men controlling the body of the ministry, the body of the ministry had become supreme, and all power, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, centered in and emanated from the ministry in conference assembled."⁷⁵ By choosing this organization American Methodism borrowed the

⁷² Lee, *Short History of the Methodists*, p. 107.

⁷³ Ezra Squier Tipple, *Francis Asbury; the Prophet of the Long Road* (New York, 1916), p. 191.

⁷⁴ Coke Sermon, December 27, 1784.

⁷⁵ Neely, *Governing Conference*, p. 266.

essential structure of the Anglican Church and adapted it to the demands of the revolutionary mind and situation. This pragmatic approach can be seen in many facets of Methodist activity. Perhaps the most noticeable was their effort to educate their clergy and laity: a movement which blossomed in the early nineteenth century. The story of Methodism from 1784 forward is one of increasing centralization. Yet, the first chapter opens with a reaction against untrammelled executive control in accord with the Revolutionary example and the prevailing democratic sentiment.

One of the paradoxes of human affairs is that a nation-in-arms witnesses, even demands, bursting, blatant nationalism and at the conclusion of the war requires that this feeling be tranquilized at its very height. The Christmas Conference, it seems, availed itself of the vigor of American nationalism before the fires had been completely banked. Thus the Christmas Conference reflects this nationalism through demand for separation from the Established Church and from English Methodist control as well. As the Americans distrusted and weakened executive power, the Methodists recoiled from Wesley's authority, replacing a ruler with an administrator. By accepting the episcopal office they anticipated the American people in their demand for a more cohesive political system than the Articles of Confederation could provide. By so doing the Methodists created a religious institution, sturdy and pliable, harmonizing with the political faith of the nation, and ready to go hand-in-hand with secular organizations in conquest of the continent.

The examination of American Methodism in 1784 triggers an entire cluster of responses and associations in American history. Here in 1784 one discovers themes basic in any subsequent period: humanitarianism, the spirit of reform, individualism, and a sense of mission among others. In its context one can note the similarity of the anti-authoritarian Christmas Conference with the Articles of Confederation. At a later date Asbury and his governing council compare strikingly with the centralizing tendencies of the Constitutional era. Still later in the 1840's when the church divided, the speeches of its leaders seem like echoes from the troubled United States Senate.

In Methodism America found a hardy, optimistic champion of capitalism and republicanism. Asbury and his cohorts became disseminators of American culture and nationalism as they took

the refershing cup and good news into the hinterland. They would have a message for nineteenth century America and nineteenth century America would listen. The anxious days of the Christmas Conference passed, and the Methodists exchanged their corn-crib for a continent.

COVER PICTURE:

ALLEN C. REDWOOD, CONFEDERATE ILLUSTRATOR

According to letters in the Dielman file in the Maryland Historical Society and family interviews, Allen C. Redwood was born in Lancaster County, Virginia, at "Prospect Hill," the home of his maternal grandfather, James Chowning, on June 19, 1844, the oldest son of William Holman and Catherine Carter Redwood. He was educated in private schools in Baltimore and at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, N. Y. At the outbreak of the Civil War he went to Virginia and enlisted in the Confederate army.

Redwood saw service in Company C of the First Maryland Cavalry and the 55th Virginia Infantry, Army of Northern Virginia, acting for a time as a military secretary and staff courier for General L. L. Lomax, under whose command the First Maryland Cavalry was brigaded. During his four-year service he was wounded three times and taken prisoner twice. His experiences at the battle of Second Manassas, his capture, and brief imprisonment at Fortress Monroe were the subject of an article entitled "Jackson's 'Foot-Cavalry' at the Second Bull Run," which was published in Vol. II of *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols.; New York, 1887.)

After the war Redwood took up illustrating and writing as a profession, working first for lithographers in Baltimore and later for the *Century Magazine* and Harper Publishing Company in New York. He did many drawings and paintings for both his own and other author's articles on the Civil War, many of which found their way into *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. Redwood also contributed articles and sketches for the ten-volume study, *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, published in New York in 1911. Many of his sketches can be found in Confederate military memoirs, among them W. W. Goldsborough's *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865*, Joseph

R. Stonebraker's *A Rebel of '61*, and Thomas Nelson Page's *Two Little Confederates*.

Allen Redwood never married. According to his nephew, John Redwood, Jr., of Baltimore, the last years of his life were spent at "Milbanke" near Port Conway on the Rappahannock River, where he resided with his four cousins, the Strother sisters. Redwood died December 24, 1922, at the home of his brother, Henry Redwood, in Asheville, N. C., and is buried in that city.

While never considered a great artist, Redwood, early in life, exhibited a talent for drawing and sketching. After his removal to New York he numbered among his friends Frederick Remington, Harper Pennington and others well known in the artistic community. Several of his Civil War illustrations were done in oils, working from sketches made previously, either on the scene of action or from memory years later. The two reproduced in this issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are from a collection of 15 prison sketches which were presented to the Maryland Historical Society in 1950 by Mrs. B. Howell Griswold, Jr. While the sketches are not dated, it is probable that they were done after the War. The brick work of the interior scene is typical of the construction of many Federal forts in the decades preceding the Civil War, among them Forts Delaware, Carroll, Sumter and Fortress Monroe. The locality of the cover sketch was Fort Delaware, where it is definitely known Redwood was held and where the murder of one Colonel E. P. Jones, on which there is a Redwood print, occurred.¹

The cover picture is an interesting print in American social history. The boxing contestants are two Confederate prisoners. Indeed, boxing enthusiasm had been very high in the Ante-Bellum South, the planters' young sons becoming interested in the English practice of the sport and returning to the old South pronounced "fans." Boxing was performed on the plantations and several of the slaves learned the sport from their young masters, some becoming so proficient as to be enabled to buy their freedom. Among America's earliest "champions" were free Negroes.

In the cover print, the use of padded gloves was uncommon in the America of the day, but they were frequently employed in England where they were made official as early as twenty years

¹ Isaac W. K. Handy, *United States Bonds; or Duress by Federal Authority . . .* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 473-474. The illustrations are by A. C. R.

before the two American fighters John L. Sullivan and Domnick McCaffery squared off at Cincinnati on August 29, 1885.²

The fight scene is described by the contemporary prisoner Isaac W. Handy in his journal as follows:³

And now came the tug of war, between David and Goliath [*sic*]. 'Old Sussex,' (Capt. Long), game to the back-bone, rough and ready, wild as a bull, wholly unused to gloves, and ere he had adjusted them upon his hands, rushed forward, with an impetuous confidence, which astonished the spectators. Pearson, still firm, fended off; made scientific passes, darted his long arms, with the speed of lightning, into the face, and over the ears of the 'Sussexer,' who, notwithstanding a sore nose covered with a coat of iodine, persistently continued the assault; and now changing his tactics, bent down, plunged forward, and sticking his head into the abdomen of his Goliath, there held fast—pelting right and left, 'unsight and unseen,' into the face, and upon the nose and eyes of the stalwart six-footer, who had defied the ring. It was a game, in which science lost. Little David, untrained, and yet persistent, bore away the palm with unbroken breath. Both, however, were for a few hours, the worse for the fight; for Long had gotten a considerable bruise on the forehead, and Pearson in his efforts to conquer three men, was brought to bay with headache, and short breath.

R. W.

C. A. P.H.

² Alexander Johnston, *Ten-and Out: the Complete Story of the Prize Ring in America* (London, 1928), pp. 1-11; John V. Gromback, *The Saga of Sock* (New York, 1949), p. 57.

³ Handy, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

III. THE STAR FORT: 1814

By RICHARD WALSH

1.

1776-1794

IN 1776, Baltimore prepared for attack by the British. Already apprehensive because of threats from the sea by His Majesty's vessel, *Otter*, the Committee of Safety chose Whetstone Point as the best site to defend Baltimore harbor. There some kind of fort was erected during the Revolution and called Fort Whetstone.

Unfortunately the records of the Revolutionary period contain no detailed description of old Fort Whetstone, merely references to its existence. Like Fort McHenry, it was a Star Fort, but badly armed, and when the fighting of the Revolution by-passed Baltimore, it was permitted to deteriorate. In 1794, Rivardi observed that "the Star Fort [Whetstone] never was entirely finished," and its earthen parapets had fallen into the ditch surrounding it. At this time only few outbuildings were standing, and the outer works were decayed. Officials of both state and federal governments were always conscious of the military possibilities of the peninsula,¹ however, and with the rise of Baltimore as a commercial city, the explosions of the French revolutionary wars in Europe and the growing fears of French regicides on the part of the Federalists in power, they moved to revitalize and strengthen the defenses of Baltimore.

Thus, as early as 1794, earnest work commenced in the building of Fort McHenry. Construction proceeded slowly until 1803 when the last building was completed, but the armament of the Star Fort was not finished until the eleventh hour; that is, until just before the British bombardment, September 12-14, 1814. The problem here will be to describe Fort McHenry as it appeared then.

Apparently it has long been thought that John Jacob Ulrich Rivardi was the chief engineer of Fort McHenry, but this is not true. Rivardi was merely to supervise the works under con-

¹ A. S. P. I, 88.

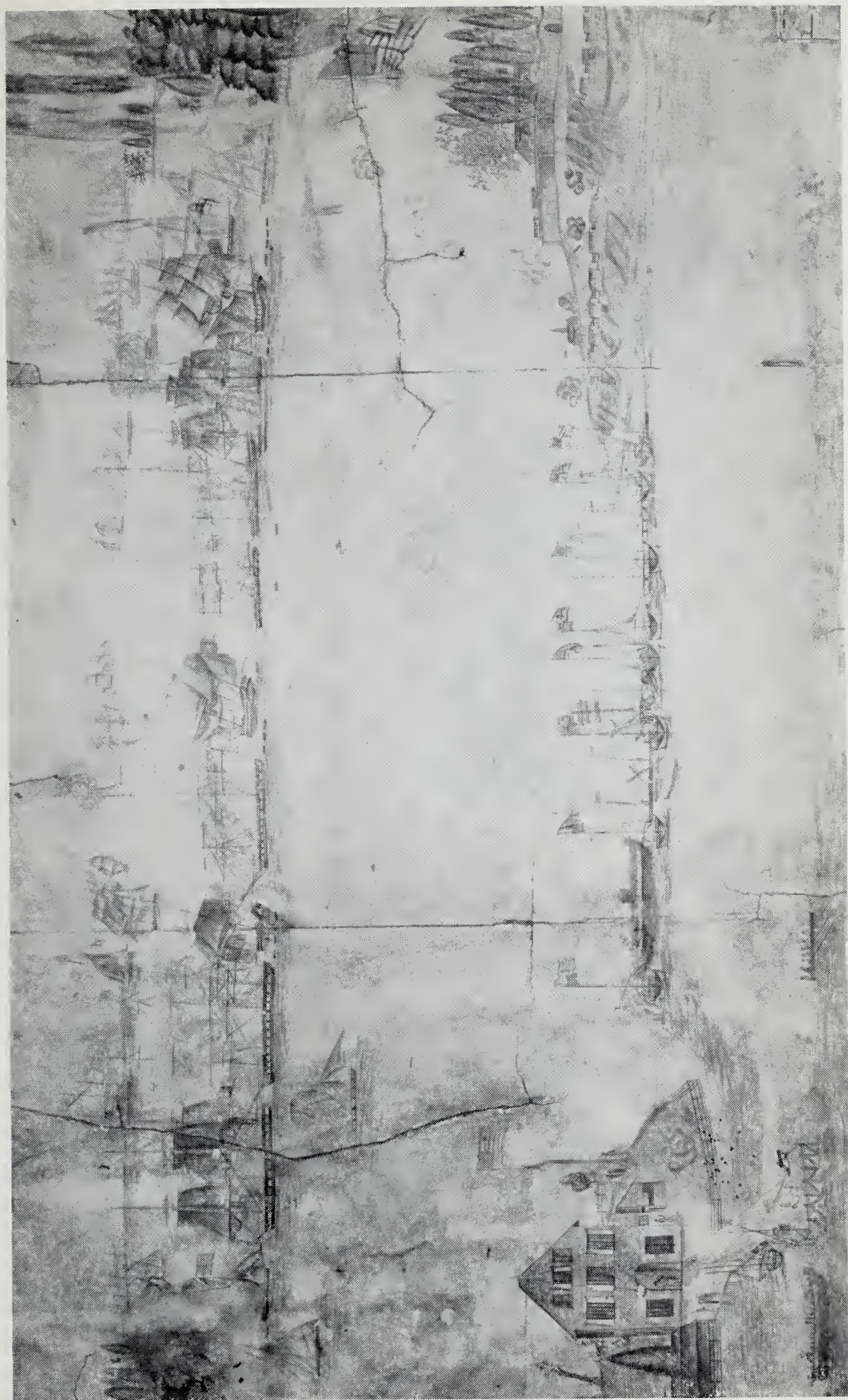


Figure 1. Contemporary painting of the bombardment of Fort McHenry in 1814. The painting has been dated by its primitive style and the careful depiction of Pennsylvania barges. Duller by time, it is rendered in water-color. The artist is unknown.

Courtesy of Peale Museum.



struction in Baltimore. Moreover, he did not think a Star Fort a proper defense, maintaining, "That kind of redoubt is always bad in itself."² Then, long before the completion of the project, he departed for Norfolk where he was to erect fortifications. At least three other engineers, Alexander De Leyritz, Major Tousard and John Foncin, successively followed him and probably are mainly responsible for the erection of the Star Fort. In addition to the professional engineers, such nonprofessionals as Samuel Dodge and Samuel Sterrett, later the head of the naval committee of Baltimore, had a hand in planning the works. Indeed, there was no single architect of the defense. The complaint was even voiced that every mechanic thought of himself as a Vauban, and certainly everyone had access to the master's theories of defense as outlined in his own and his students' textbooks extant at the time. The Star Fort of 1814 was a Vauban style fortification, the kind which so bogged down seventeenth century European warfare.³

Fort McHenry was also a republican work. Not only professional laborers but nearly all citizens of the town were enthusiastic about the erection of the Fort. "Young Republican gentlemen" gave their services. Mechanics, units of the militia, and people of color were summoned to work. Fort McHenry, then, truly belonged to the people of Baltimore who readily helped to build and took great pride in it.⁴

2.

SEPTEMBER 12-14, 1814

The Star Fort apparently was completed by the late 1790's, though several of its interior buildings were not finished until 1803. It is well described in the map of 1803 and the Walbach

² *Ibid.*

³ Sec. of War Knox to Governor of Maryland, Mar. 23, 1794, Brown Books, 716, IV, 27, H. R.; James McHenry to Major Louis Tousard, July 7, 1798; to Foncin, Mar. 28, 1799, to Jeremiah Zollott *et. al.*, Aug. 31, 1798, to Alexander Hamilton, Nov. 19, 1800, Samuel Dexter to McHenry, May 29, 1800: McHenry Papers. See also microfilm, Accounts of the First Auditor, No. 7152, Fiscal Division, N. A.

⁴ *Baltimore Daily Repository*, April 29, May 8, 27, 28, 29, 1794; at Norfolk Rivardi complains that the people lent assistance but were "much less numerous than at Baltimore," *A. S. P.*, I, 88.

map of 1806. Because only a meager amount of work was performed between 1803 and the time of the British attack, it can be assumed that the maps of 1803 and 1806 rather accurately picture it on September 12-14, 1814.⁵

In 1814 the Star Fort was a pentagonal structure of five bastions. It was constructed of stone and brick masonry, using 800 perches of stone for the foundation, 2,300 for the walls of the rampart, 600 for the counterforts, or buttresses (bastions). For the walls, 600,000 bricks were used, and earth amounting to 4,140 cubic *toises* went into the floor (*solid*) of the parapets and banquettes, and the terreplain. The measurements of the Fort are indicated in *toises* (6.39459 feet) on the plan of 1803. The width of the parapets seems to have been 6.5 *toises* (38.71984 feet) and, as described in 1819, the pentagon was only 15 feet relief above the bottom of the surrounding ditch. Changes in the dimensions of the Fort walls were made in 1836-37, when they were raised. Thus, the Fort of 1814 was low-lying, even more so than it is today, especially as seen from the water. The earth of the bastions and parapets was also sodded, as it is at present.⁶

A striking feature of the Star Fort of old was that besides sodding, trees were placed on the bastions. This seemingly strange practice apparently served the double purpose of camouflaging the works and of soaking up dampness which might have made a mud pile of the fortifications. There were in 1814 four trees on the front angle of each bastion, planted about 18 feet apart, two on either side of the angle.⁷ The contemporary picture of the Fort shows these trees to have been cedars or poplars, which are known for their consumption of great quantities of water, but which are fragile in high winds.

The ramparts and bastions were reached by means of rising earthen ramps, similar to those existing now.⁸ The bastions were poorly armed on the eve of the attack, as was the entire Fort, water batteries included. Guns were without carriages, not in ready position, and also without platforms—this as late as April 2, 1813.

⁵ Poussin's Plan (1819); Walbach's Plan (1806); Plan of 1803.

⁶ *Ibid.*; Robert Gilmore to James McHenry, May 6, 1799, McHenry Papers. Department of War, Reports of the Corps of Engineers, Feb. 24, 1819, p. 377; Capt. Smith to S. W., May 5, 1840, enclosure; Gratiot to S. W., Nov. 20, 1835, O. C. E.

⁷ Plan of 1803, Walbach's Plan, Gratiot to S. W., Nov. 20, 1835, O. C. E.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Thereafter, through the efforts of General Samuel Smith, Colonel George Armistead, and Colonel Decius Wadsworth, the Star Fort was placed in a posture of defense. Guns were made at the arsenals of Levin and White, William and John Price, William Starr and other firms.

By May, 1814 the Fort probably was fully armed. On the five bastions were four thirty-two pounders and fourteen twenty-four pounders. Twelve eighteen pounders on traveling carriages with mobile furnaces were available in event of land attack. These were placed on oak carriages so that they might be swung *en barbette*. They were made of iron and painted, it is assumed, black. To prevent the carriages from sinking in the earth, gun platforms of tough oak plank were erected and raised a few inches above the floor of the bastions. Most likely, furnaces for heating shot were situated near the gun positions.⁹

Aside from these heavy cannon on the bastions, fieldpieces were positioned on the flanks with the infantry, a mistake in armament which Decius Wadsworth pointed out, but which remained uncorrected by the night of the attack. The infantry, armed with pikes and apparently with the other usual accouterments, awaited the British onslaught in a dry moat surrounding the Fort.¹⁰ According to the map of 1803, the ditch was 30 feet wide by 5 feet deep. A narrow drawbridge provided access to the sally port.

After completion of the Star Fort in 1803, several major faults remained, chief of which were that the water batteries and the road from the town were unprotected. Also the Fort's gateway, constructed merely of pine, was weak and could have been smashed at the blow of an axe.

To solve these problems, Decius Wadsworth employed, in 1813, an ancient method used to protect the entrance-way to the fortified cities of Europe. This was the erection of a ravelin before the gateway. It was completed in May, 1813, and was standing on the night of the bombardment.¹¹

⁹ Smith to John Armstrong, Mar. 18, 1813, April 2, 1813, Lloyd Beall to Armstrong, Mar. 25, 1813, Wadsworth to John Armstrong, April 13, 1813, Letters Received, S. W. Capt. Babcock to S. W., Dec. 1, 1813, enclosure 451, Buell's Collection Miscellaneous Accounts of the War of 1812, Fiscal Division, N. A. A. S. P. I, 89.

¹⁰ Wadsworth to Armstrong, April 13, 1813, Letters Received, S. W. Miscellaneous Accounts of the War of 1812, Fiscal Division, N. A.

¹¹ Wadsworth to Armstrong, April 28, 1813, May 3, 1813 [?] Smith to S. W., May 5, 1840, Letters Received, S. W., Armstrong to Wadsworth, May 3, 1813, Letters Sent, S. W.

Though the ravelin still exists, it has been modified greatly since the War of 1812. Then it was a triangular moundlike structure of earth and brick. It did not contain magazines as it does now. This additional defense, 133 feet on each flank, according to the map of 1803, between the number 2 and 3 bastions, served as a kind of small fort without the main work. Presumably it was as high as the Star Fort bastions. Leading from the town a road of irregular width sliced through the ravelin on the left flank and was connected to the Fort's sally port by the bridge over the ditch.

The armament of the ravelin consisted of a twelve-pounder, apparently intended to sweep the road with shot or to defend against an enemy landing. In all likelihood, the gun was mounted on a traveling carriage placed at the tip of the ravelin, so as to afford clear vision, and it was platformed to prevent rutting the work.

The entrance through the ravelin and the ditch was filled in during alterations made in October, 1839.¹²

As judged by the map of 1803 and further descriptions, the sally port at the time of the attack was a simple opening in the walls of the Fort, about 3 *toises* wide. There was no further construction until 1819 when radical alteration took place, including the building of the archway and the addition of bombproofs. The present guard rooms, or dungeons, were added later.¹³

Theoretically the magazine should have been of vital importance in the defenses of the Fort. It was, however, of little use during the British pounding. Indeed, it was a dangerous liability, for its capacity was 300 barrels of powder, but it was not bombproof. Thus only Providence saved the Fort. During the attack, the magazine was struck but did not explode. In 1814 the exterior of the magazine was 20 feet wide and 37 feet long. The interior measurements were 10 feet by 26 feet. The walls were of brick and the roofing of wooden shingles. The roof was not arched, and it was described as being without a lightning rod.¹⁴

Concern for the safety of the men led to several improvements in the Fort after the attack, and obviously the unserviceable and

¹² Plan of 1803, Walbach's Plan, Poussin's Plan.

¹³ *Ibid.* Reports of the Third Auditor, Account Nos. 3479, 997, 1644, 6360, 7054, 4620, 3931 indicate a more elaborate gateway erected in 1818. Thomas J. Lee to Maj. Gen. Jesup, July 10, 1835, Box 633, C. C. F. indicated conclusively that the present sally port with its rooms and dungeons was completed by 1835.

¹⁴ Lee H. Nelson, "The Powder Magazine, Fort McHenry," unpublished report, N. P. S., H. A. R. P.

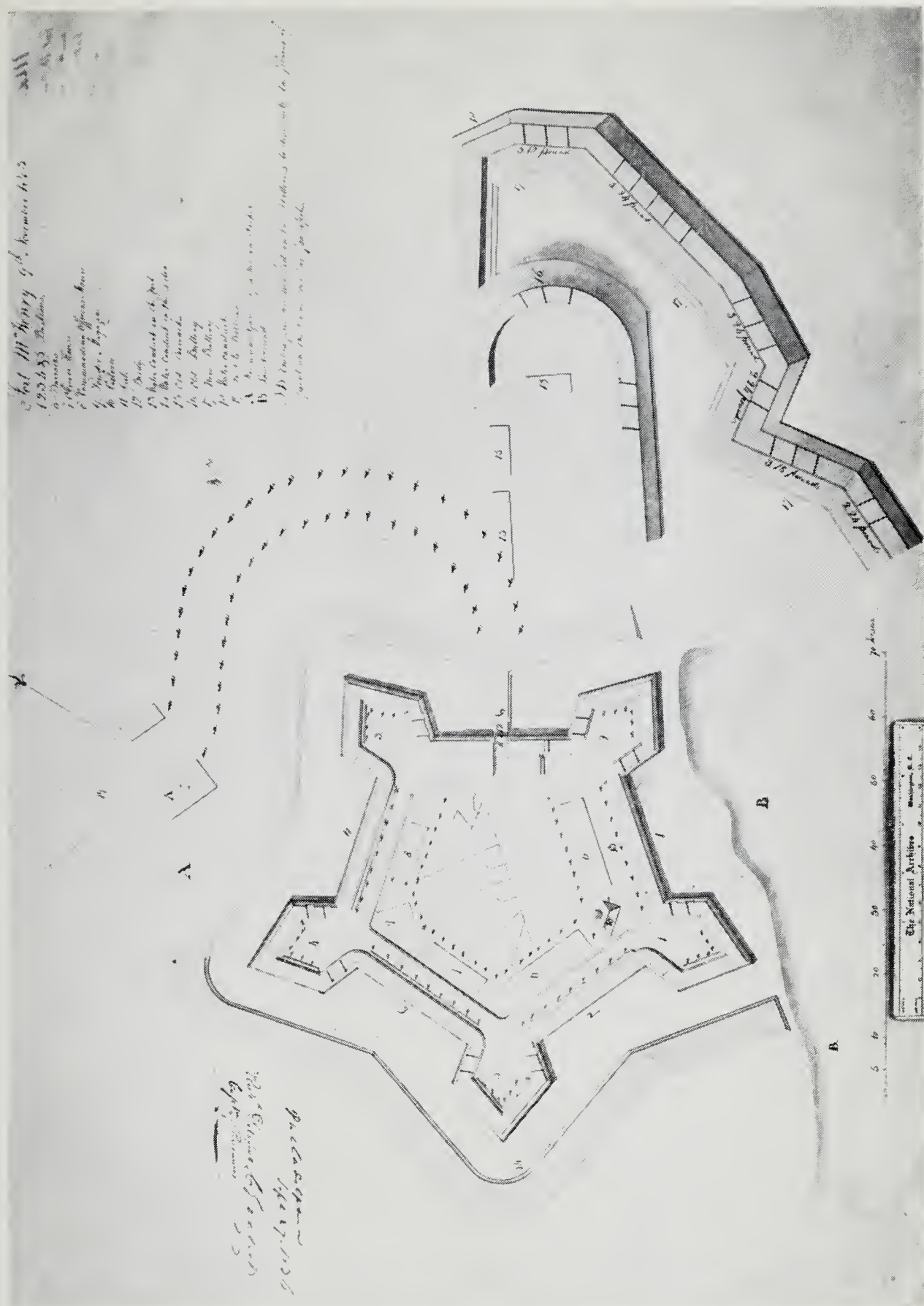


Figure 2. Plan of 1803, the most important of all the maps of Fort McHenry, as there were few changes in the Star Fort between its completion in 1803 and 1814. This map was employed by the Capt. of engineers, Richard Delafield in 1836 when he undertook one of the many extensive changes in the Fort after 1814. Delafield's signature appears in the upper left hand corner.

Courtesy of the National Archives.



Figure 3. Excavated cellar fire place in Building E.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

dangerous magazine was high on the list. As early as the spring of 1813, two traverses had been recommended, one for the

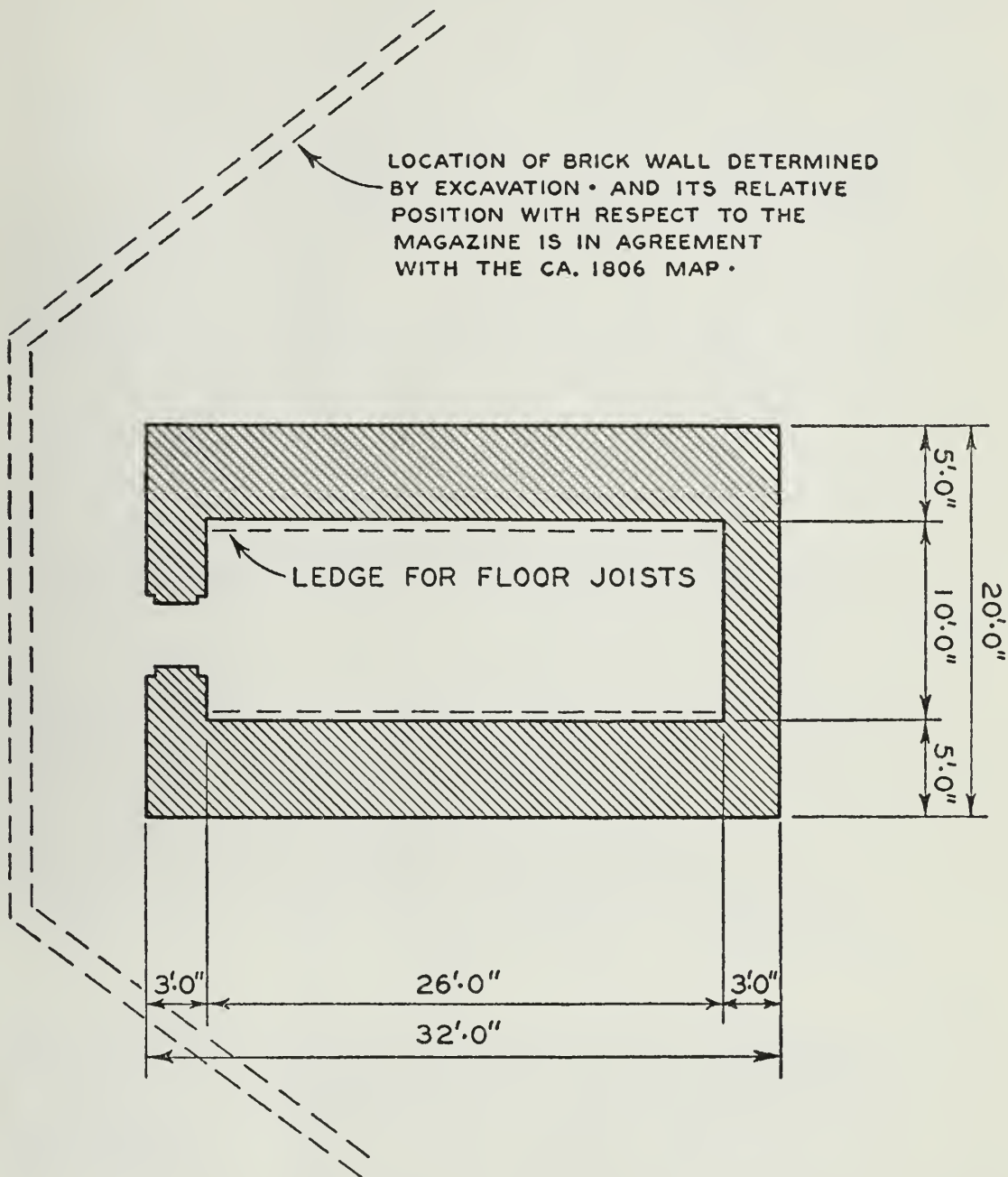


Figure 4. Plan of the magazine in 1814. The dimensions were determined by architectural, archeological, and historical research. The magazine, after the British attack, was greatly altered.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

protection of the magazine and the other to stand before the sally port. The ravelin seems adequately to have substituted for the traverse at the sally port, but the one for the magazine does

not seem to have been built before the bombardment, a supposition supported by archeological and architectural evidence.¹⁵

The quarters for the personnel were completed by 1803. Four buildings were standing during the night of the attack. Records of renovations made in 1829 and later give good accounts of the buildings in 1814. By no means did they present the same appearance as they do now. Today's buildings date from 1829 when, to make room for an increased garrison, they were raised to two stories and the porticoes added. In contrast, the quarters of 1814 were one story plus a half-story garret. The roofs were gabled and shingled and, in the style of the 18th century, contained dormer windows. Originally the enlisted mens' barrack number 1 was 91 feet long by 22 feet wide, with the interior of the garret unfinished. The first floor was laid in heavy pine plank instead of the brick now in place. Documents on enlisted mens' barracks E indicate that it and the officers' quarters contained cellars which were used as mess kitchens. Here archeological probings uncovered fireplaces dating back to the time of the British bombardment.¹⁶

The dimensions of the officers' quarters are described in 1829, but so vaguely that one must turn to the map of 1803. Building number seven on the map measures 10 *toises* by 3 *toises*, and the commandant's house, number eight, 9 *toises* by 3 *toises*. The width of the officers' quarters compares favorably with the width of 18 feet given in a document of 1829, as does the length of building seven, placed at 61 feet in 1829.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Plan of 1803, Poussin's Plan. Henry Burbeck to Samuel Dyson, July 16, 1802, Box 633; Account of Lt. Walbach, 1 May—4 Sept., 1805, Box 630; H. W. Fitzhugh to Jesup, Mar. 11, 1826, Box 633; S. B. Dusenbury to Jesup, Feb. 24, 1829; Major T. Cross to Jesup, April 22, 1829; J. R. Fenwick to Jesup, May 23, 1829; E. K. Barnum to Major T. Cross, Nov. 11, 1836; J. R. Fenwick to Jesup, June 4, 1836; Special estimate of materials, c. Jan. 9, 1836, of Lt. Thomas J. Lee; T. J. Lee to Jesup, Nov. 19, 1834, Oct. 1, 1835: Box 633: C. C. F.

Fitzhugh to Jesup, Nov. 11, 1824, Nov. 18, 1824, June 12, 1822, Dec. 3, 1824, April 5, 1825, Letters Received, Quartermaster General, R. G. 92, N. A.

Report of Fortifications, Dec. 2, 1811, Miscellaneous Papers, 1789-1831, Hindeman to Lt. G. Blaney, Ap. 20, 1819, communications to the Secretary of War, I, 253, Baltimore, District Engineers Office, Letters Sent, V. 246, Smith to S. W., May 5, 1840 (enclosure), Thompson to Gratiot, Mar. 14, 1839, Hindeman to Smith, July 14, 1819: O. C. E.

The restoration of the 1930's restored the buildings to their condition of 1836 not 1814. See Adj. Gen. to Mrs. Albert F. Olson, Feb. 13, 1934, General Information File, Fort McHenry, N. A.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; also Hindeman to Armistead, Mar. 17, 1819, O. C. E.

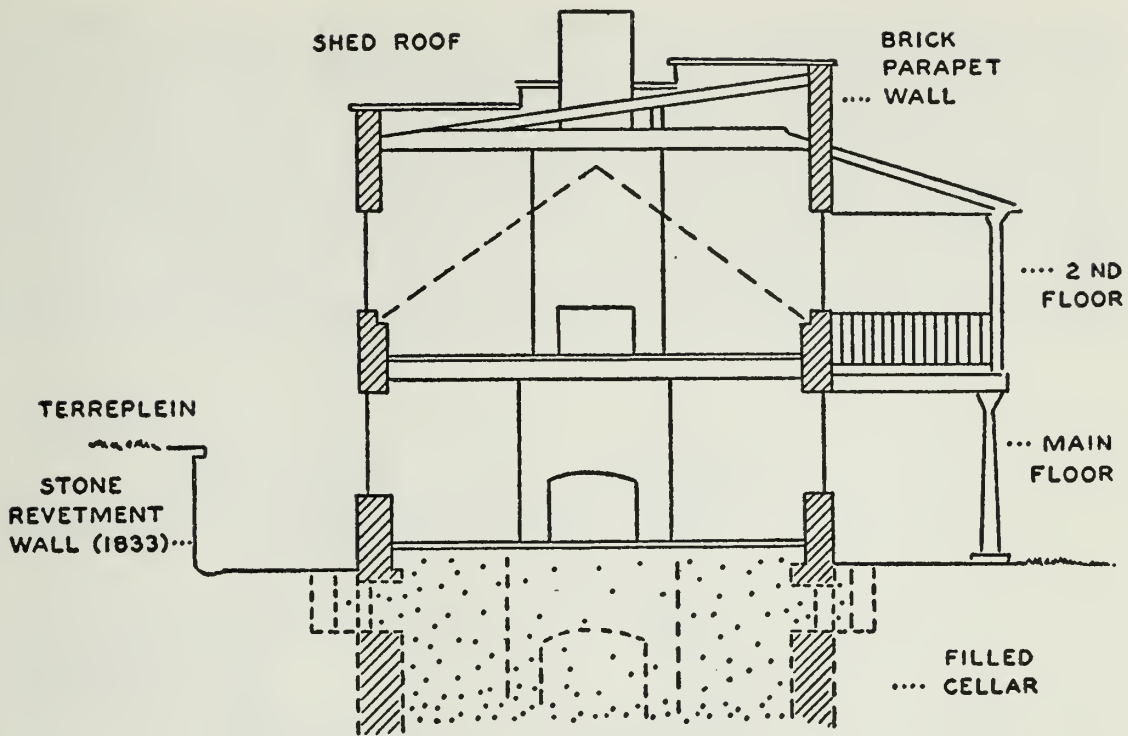


Figure 5. Enlisted men's barrack D of the present time.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

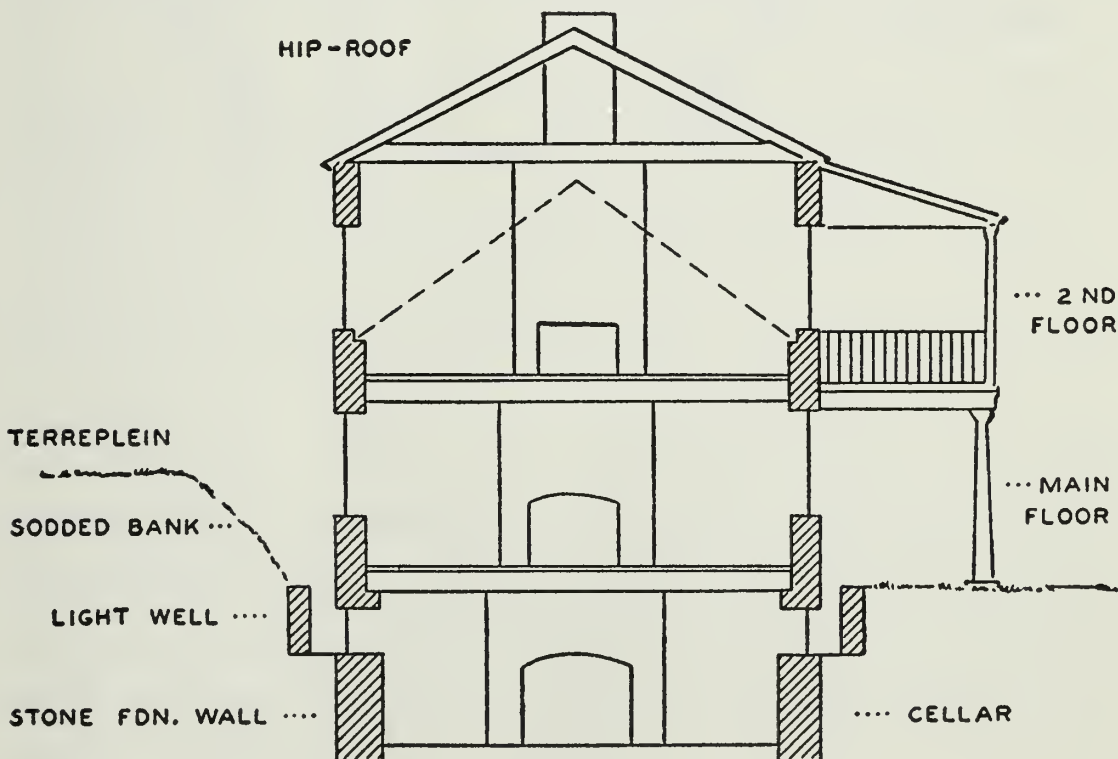


Figure 6. Enlisted men's barrack D, after the major alterations of 1829.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

All of the buildings were divided into three rooms on the first floor, with space for two garret rooms on the second. If finished off, as they were in the officers' quarters, the upper rooms could not have been occupied in summer because of the intense heat. The windows and entrances of the first floor and the position and type of fireplaces remain unchanged in the present buildings. The builders employed plastered interiors and woodwork, and evidence

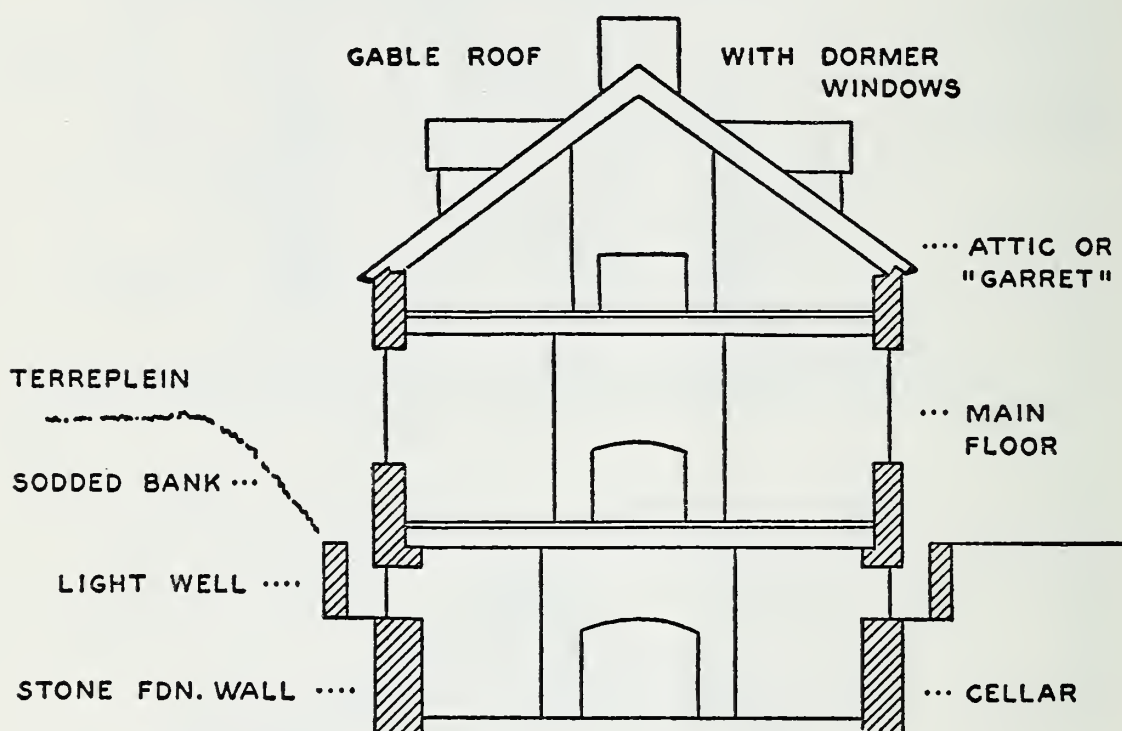


Figure 7. Enlisted men's barrack D, in 1814, showing gable roof, dormer windows, garret, and cellar.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

indicates that the interiors were also painted. The color is unknown but probably was white. Apparently the exteriors were whitewashed, since this material is common among the Fort supplies. However, a document written in 1845 states that both the interiors and exteriors of the buildings were in need of paint.

In 1834, a report of an inspection of buildings describes each of the three rooms of the enlisted men's barracks as measuring about 20 feet [18" ?] by 30 feet. Each was equipped with a fireplace. The measurements of the five rooms in each of the officers' quarters are never clearly described. A diagram of 1845 indicates

that the buildings were divided in thirds, with two finished rooms in the garret and one room partitioned with pine planks.¹⁸

Life at the Fort was rugged, especially for enlisted men. In time of peace more than sixty men and officers were stationed at the Fort. With about thirty enlisted men assigned to each barrack,

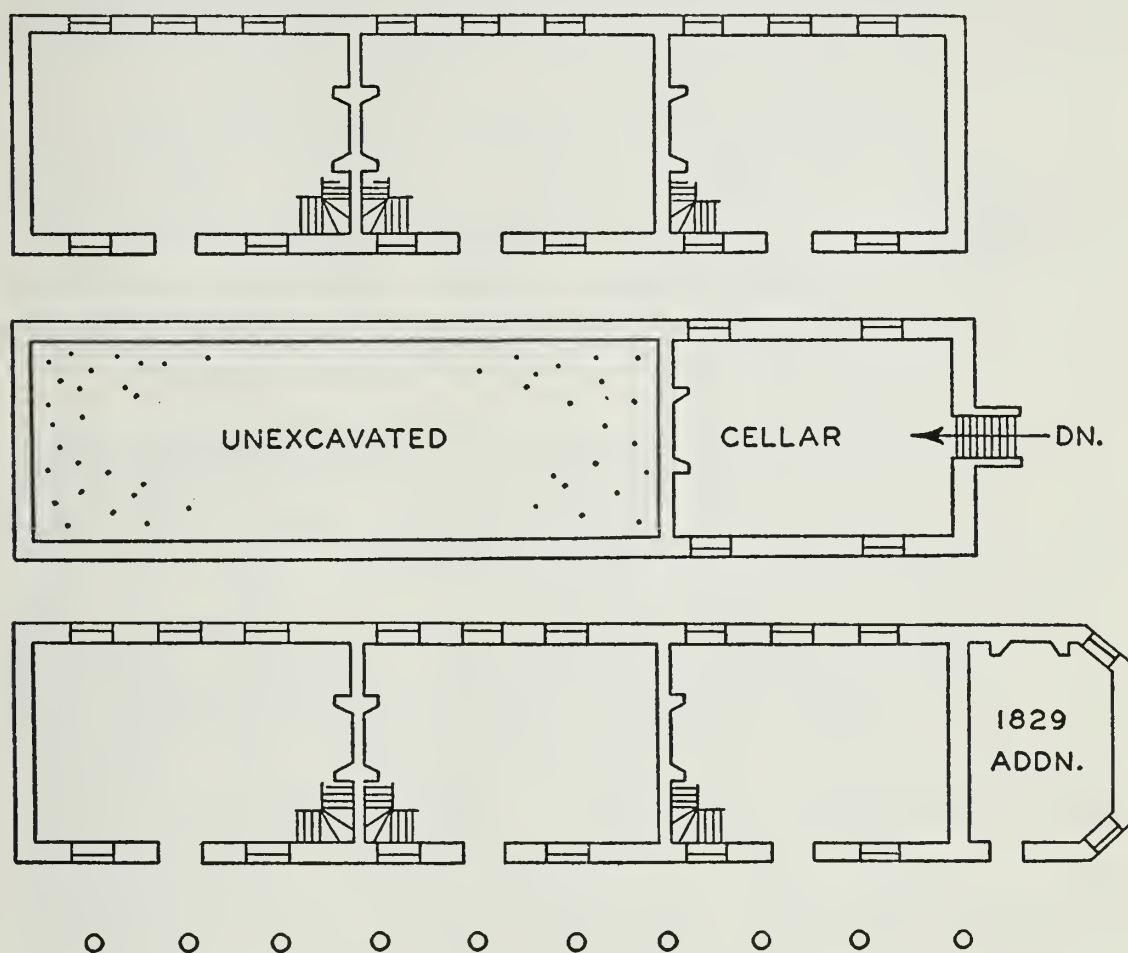


Figure 8. Building D, soldiers' barrack. The first two illustrations, from the top, show the main and cellar floor plans in 1814. The third is the floor plan of 1834 showing an additional room and porticoes.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

there was little space per soldier. Frequent mention is made of the unhealthfulness of the buildings, and it was mainly this condition which led to the various renovations after the bombardment. Finally, because of the high incidence of fevers and viruses, the Fort was evacuated annually during the worst part of the season. The practice began after the 1830's.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; also Fitzhugh to Jesup, Ap. 15, 1822; S. B. Dusenbury to Col. H. Slayton, Oct. 22, 1845, Box 633, C. C. F.

Probably the enlisted men's barracks were sparsely furnished. Soldiers of the period usually slept on straw mattresses on the floor. Scarcely were the McHenry rooms large enough for bunk beds, though these were used at such established posts as West Point. The mess kitchens contained tables and benches, and often mentioned in the records are camp kettles for fireplace cooking. The type of mess gear employed is unknown; possibly the common soldier used pewter plates and mugs as well as knives and forks.

The junior officers' quarters housed two subalterns usually, and also the surgeon with his cure-alls and medicines. The building, sometimes used by the latter as a hospital, must have been even more crowded than the barracks, with the addition of furnishings such as bedsteads, crockery, and other personal belongings which often were shipped from post to post with the officers.

Doubtless the commandant's quarters were the most commodious of all. Not only did the furnishings of the times grace his rooms, but since his quarters contained his office, a desk or a writing table for military business was used.¹⁹

Little record remains of the guard house. According to the map of 1803, none was in the Fort, but one appears on the 1806 map. There is also record, in 1805, of a wooden sentry box, possibly standing near the sally port. On July 7, 1813, Armistead expressed his need for building a "proper guard house," but his request does not seem to have been fulfilled. Thus the guard house appearing on the 1806 map, and also on the 1819 plan, is probably the one that stood during the battle.²⁰

The original position of the flagstaff has been uncovered by recent archeological search. At the position of the staff shown on the map of 1803, the archeologist found:

At a depth of approximately seven feet six inches . . . dark-colored, massive, obviously old timbers, the braces or step of a flag staff. . . .

¹⁹ *A. S. P.*, I, 45-60; Bunberry to William Simmons, Oct. 26, 1813, Letters Received, Accountant of the War Dept., Fiscal Division, N. A. Thomas Cushing to Marschalk, Aug. 28 and Nov. 8, 1799, Letter Book of Major Thomas Cushing, July 14, 1799—Mar. 11, 1800, Ms, Post Revolutionary File, N. A.; Jacobs, *Beginning of the U. S. Army*, pp. 257-279; Dusenbury to Slayton, Oct. 22, 1845, Box 633, C. C. F.

²⁰ Armistead to Armstrong, July 7, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; account of Lt. Walbach, 1 May—Sept. 4, 1805, Box 630, C. C. F. Plan of 1803, Poussin's and Walbach's Plans.

These timbers consist of two planks, probably oak, one mortised upon the other at right angles, and provided with a socket nine inches square at the intersection, passing through both, to receive a tenon, part of the heel or butt of a staff.

Subsequent findings gave sufficient evidence to indicate that this is the position of the flag and staff during the bombardment of September 14, 1814.²¹ On the basis of these historical and arche-

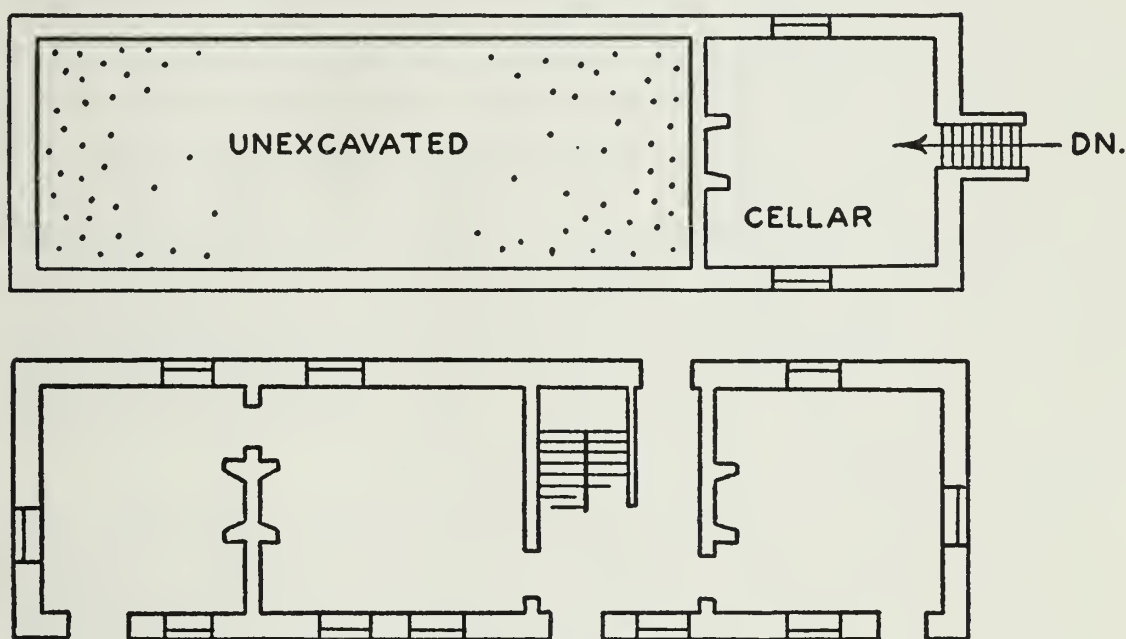


Figure 9. Building C, Officers Quarters, cellar and main floor plans, 1834.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

ological findings, the flagstaff has been reconstructed and placed in the position it held in 1814. Thus far this is the only part of the Fort properly restored.

Until the mid-century water supply was a constant problem at the Fort, water often being purchased from the town. The map of 1803 shows a cistern placed near building number 6, before the number 1 bastion. The map of 1819 indicates one in that position, and a still later map of 1837 places a pump house in the same place. Undoubtedly in 1814 a cistern existed. Probably measuring 5 by 3.5 *toises*, it is shown in the map of 1803 with a gabled roof. In all probability it was only one story in height and constructed of brick.²²

²¹ G. Hubert Smith, "Archeological Explorations at Fort McHenry, 1958," unpublished report, N. P. S., H. A. R. P., pp. 55-63.

²² Plan of 1803, Poussin's Plan; Map of 1837, Drawer 51, Sheet 9, Cartography Division, N. A.

Two water conduits are indicated on the map of 1803. One is drawn under the Fort's walls behind barracks number six, while another is shown in the ditch slightly to the left of the point of number five bastion. The map of 1819 also shows what appears to be a conduit in the same location as the one behind the number six barracks in 1803. A conduit also appears here on the 1837 map. The conduits probably were utilized for drainage purposes.²³

The appearance of the courtyard of the Star Fort is difficult to determine. In the early period, however small, it was used as a parade ground. Later, because of the limited area, marching was done outside. The map of 1819 and subsequent drawings show no detail of the courtyard. In 1803, however, nine trees were planted along each rampart. Placed a few feet before the barracks and extending around the court from the ramp near barracks number six to the ramp at the right of the sally port were 34 trees. Two more were at the right of the commandant's quarters and one on each side of the cistern. That the place was heavily foliated is verified by the painting of 1814.

In the 1850's, in front of the buildings were laid brick side-walks, a few feet wide. Whether such walks existed in 1814 is unknown, but it seems reasonable that Fort McHenry's present walkways are correct. The cartographer of the map of 1803 seems to have shown something of the kind before the buildings.²⁴

The original map of 1803 in the National Archives depicts one half of the courtyard in green, with pathways leading to the various buildings. Obviously this coloring was meant to convey some kind of grass landscaping. The other half of the inside grounds remains uncolored.

The Star Fort of 1959, therefore, is far different from the fortress of 1814. The ditch has long ago disappeared; the bastions and ramparts which Francis Scott Key immortalized have been raised. The ravelin has been greatly altered, and the sally port, which it protected, has been elaborately changed. Inside the Fort the buildings have been so enlarged that they have little resemblance to those of the days of Armistead's command. Their

²³ A later Map, Drawer 51, Sheet 5, shows that the conduit behind the barracks is a sewer. Also, Thompson to Gratiot, June 20, 1834, Jan. 9, 1835, Letters Received, O. C. E.

²⁴ Langdon to Mott, Aug. 12, 1884, Gen. Order No. 2, Baltimore District Engineer's Office, Letters Received, O. C. E.

interiors, without cellars and garrets, mess kitchens or other equipment, are unauthentic. The trees and other plantings have long since disappeared. The cistern is gone, and the Fort today is mostly armed with weapons of the Civil War period.

As it stands today Fort McHenry presents the appearance of *an early American fort*, but the date of *this* fort can generally be fixed as being between 1824 and 1837, long after its finest hour. Indeed, by the 1830's it was considered obsolete and had been superseded by Fort Carroll as a first line of defense. In subsequent wars it was used as a prison for Confederates, for training purposes, and as a general hospital in World War I.

Thus the Star Fort of 1959 is only the site at which the bombardment was levelled. In appearance it is not the Fort about which Key wrote, nor that in which Colonel Armistead withstood the onslaught of the British, nor is it "the home of the Star Spangled Banner."

SIDELIGHTS

SOME LETTERS OF ANNA SURRATT

Edited by ALFRED ISACSSON

Anna Surratt was the third child born to John Harrison and Mary (Jenkins) Surratt. Her birth in 1849 had been preceded by that of her two brothers, Isaac Douglas and John Harrison, Jr. When Anna attended Saint Mary's Female Institution, run by Miss Martin at Bryantown, Md., one of her fellow students was Elisabeth Louise Stone. Louise Stone, as Anna Surratt addressed her in her letters, was the daughter of Matthew Alexander and Elisabeth Louise (Davis) Stone and had been born on August 30, 1846, in Saint Mary's County, Md.

Anna Surratt and Louise Stone became good friends. Two of the letters we present here were written to Miss Stone when she was still at the Bryantown school. Possibly she was still a student there when Anna wrote her the third letter from Surrattsville.¹

After Anna left the school of Miss Martin, she went to live with her family at Surrattsville where her father was the postmaster and also owned a combination general store and tavern. As we learn from one of these letters of Anna Surratt, her father died in August, 1862. The family moved to a house they owned on H Street in Washington during October of 1864. The destruction of their farm caused by the foraging of Union troops quartered in their area prompted this removal.

Due to her son John's involvements with John Wilkes Booth Mrs. Surratt was accused of implication in the President's assassination. Arrested as a witness who could possibly shed some light on the events preceding this crime, she was shuffled among the other conspirators, included in their speedy trial and condemned to death with three of them.

Today, no serious scholar doubts her innocence, though occasionally there will appear a text book or general work which depicts her as watching over "the nest that hatched the egg." Nothing has been done officially to clear her name.

Anna Surratt had been arrested and taken to the Old Capitol Prison along with her mother. Anna did what she could to provide for her comfort while in prison and on trial. The day her mother was to be

¹ This is gauged from a Card of Approbation in amiable deportment, improvement in studies, neatness and needle work issued to Louise Stone for the term ending February 22, 1861. She also received a Card as a testimony of application to and general improvement in the Division of the 4th class English studies, music, French and needle work on July 16, 1861. Both of these Cards are in the possession of Mrs. Alice Behrendt, Sandy Springs, Md.

hanged, she was prevented from seeing President Johnson by his secretary, General Mussey, who said that the President gave orders he would see no one. Still hoping to get to him in time for a last plea for clemency, Anna sat for several hours in the East Room of the White House on that morning of July 7, 1865.

Some time after the death of her mother, Anna married Dr. William P. Tonry, and they made their home in Baltimore. Her repeated efforts finally secured a decent burial for her mother in Mount Olivet Cemetery in Washington.² When she died in 1917, Anna Surratt was buried beside her mother.³

Miss Louise Stone's sister, Mrs. Alice (Stone) Camallier, died at the age of forty, leaving several children whom Louise Stone proceeded to rear. To two of these children, Mrs. Louise (Camallier) Mac Kavanagh and Mrs. Alice (Camallier) Behrendt, she gave these letters written to her by Anna Surratt. At present these letters are in the possession of Mrs. Alice Behrendt, Sandy Springs, Md., who has kindly consented to their publication and to whom we are indebted for this information about her aunt, Miss Louise Stone.

Spelling, capitalization and punctuation are as in the originals. *Sic* appears only where the meaning is not clear.

St. Mary's F.[emale] Institute ⁴
Mar. 17th, 1861.

My dear Louisa,

You must not think because I did not answer your sweet little note, that I do not love you. You know I have always loved you, and I am sure my actions are a testimony of the fact. I hope our love is not that of mere school girls but I hope it will be as strong when we are laid in our graves as it is to day. I have a great way of fooling with those I *love* to try their love for me. I hope, Louisa, you understand me use this. But let us turn to a subject more agreeable. [sic] Have you made a resolution to be very good during the Retreat. As for me, I think my future salvation will depend upon the manner I make it. Give my love to Ida Howard and tell her not to forget and tell you that name. This is such a poor note that I have half made up my mind not to send it. I have to keep one eye on Miss Essender and the other on the paper. I beg you not to let any one see this.

Mind, I will find out if you do.

Good bye. I am

Yours truly

Anna Surratt.

² Cf. her letter to President Johnson and his reply of February 5, 1869, Library of Congress, A. Johnson Papers, Portfolio F, 1, 11, D 1.

³ This and some of the other information about Anna Surratt comes from an undated newspaper clipping, "Mrs. Mary Surratt's Daughter Dead," in the possession of Mrs. Alice Behrendt.

⁴ When this letter is folded, there appears on the outer fold, "Miss Louisa Stone, Present." This is written in pencil as is the remainder of the letter, except for the

St. Mary's F.[emale] Institute ⁵
 April 23rd, 1861.

My dearest Louise,

Your little note was graciously received Sunday last—it was very interesting—only a little too short. I hope the next one will be much longer. The thoughts of War have distracted me so much today that I was unable to study—not was so much as the “Loved One” that I know is engaged—but I hope God will protect him. Louise please study diligently and get-head of your classes. *I know you can if you will.* It makes me so angry to see anyone above you. I think you perform very well on the Piano considering the short time you have been taking lessons. The Distribution is only three months off, and I know *your Bud* will be overjoyed to see *his Lis* come off so well. Give my respects to that Ida Howard, and tell her I have no love for her at present—until she answers my note, anyhow. I am afraid the carriage has blown away and Miss Winnie and our dear Miss Josie have left us. I expect Miss Josie will see your Dominic today and cut you out. I am very glad Henry is not at home. Do not forget Orion, The Eagle, Bird of Paradise etc. I have given someone else the name of Orpheus—the sweetest person I have ever seen. Give my love to Estel Gardiner and tell her I will answer her soon. Poor Isaac! ⁶ I never expect to hear from him any more. I wish Texas had been annihilated before he thought of going there. I suppose your optical nerves are quite worn out with this nonsense—therefore I will stop. Answer this and do not be dilatory.

Wishing you every success—I remain

Your sincere and devoted friend

Anna Surratt

“*Enfant de Marie.*”

place which is in ink. On the outside fold there also appears in ink, “Miss Fannie Morgan.” One word is underlined as above and the spellings are as in the original.

⁵ On the upper part of this letter there is written in a hand other than that of Anna Surratt, “Willia Stone

William H. Stone
 Donegama Hotel
 Canada E[ast]”

In the text of the letter this hand has written in, “Willill.” On the bottom of the letter there is written in this same hand, “*Penses—à—moi.*” William Stone was the brother of Louise Stone.

This letter is written in ink and has an extra 1 in the beginning, diligently crossed out.

⁶ This is Anna's brother who joined the Pony Express riding between Matamoras, Texas and Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1861.

Surrattsville, Md.⁷
 Sept. 16th, 1862.

Dearest Friend,

Though your letter came later than I expected, yet it gave me great pleasure. Since I last wrote to you death has entered our portals and taken one of the most cherished inmates—my beloved Father—Oh Louise! I will not attempt to depict here the anguish the deep grief that almost burst my heavy heart's Strings when I looked upon my father after death and knew that he could not hear or see me. The suddenness of his death has almost caused me to frown upon the will of a Just God. Poor Pa has been dead four weeks this morning. If I can obtain a paper with his obituary I will send it to you. The evening previous to his death we did not retire until quite late and he was even more animated than usual, talking of politics etc.—we had a gentleman from *across the Potomac* at the time spending a few days with us and he was giving us great encouragement—Under such circumstances, Louise, what would have been your feelings to be awakened just at the dawn of day to attend the death bed of a parent, or rather to behold a dead Father? I hope you will never experience such a calamity, unless you are blessed with more resignation and [sic] I. We hoped at first that he was paralyzed and that reason would be restored—but the Doctors knew that he was dead and were afraid to tell us—they even helped to make applications. And what renders his death more painful poor John⁸ was not at home—I will make no allusion to Isaac for we have not heard from him since the out break of the terrible War. It makes me so sorry to think poor Pa did not live to see the glorious Banner of Southern Liberty unfurled and planted upon the shores of Maryland—it was what he long desired. You must excuse this letter as I am unusually nervous. I intend to leave home to spend some time in Washington.—I will leave to morrow. You must write soon—Your letters will be sent to me immediately.

Please send me your picture. I know you do not want mine in such a dismal color as Black. I hope you will soon hear from your Brother. Tell Ida to write to me now.

Good bye, dearest Louise,

I remain—

Your *sincere* friend
 Anna

What caused you to study so long over my last letter?—please tell me. I think it is only an excuse for not answering.

A S

⁷ Written in ink, this letter has a black border on the first page. Notice the presence of many dashes. The hand is rather unsteady especially towards the end.

"Or" in the sixth line of the letter is "of" in the original but Anna Surratt has crossed this out and written in "or."

⁸ It is difficult to determine whether John Surratt was still at Saint Charles College at the time of his father's death. The College was located in those days at Ellicott City, Md. Cf. Helen J. Campbell to A. Isacson, Yorktown, Va., March 15, 1957.

If he had left Saint Charles at that date, his absence from home could possibly have been due to his courier work for the Confederacy.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution, 1760-1776. By DAVID S. LOVEJOY. Providence: Brown University Press, 1958. 256. \$4.50.

Here is a book which will appeal to many tastes. The reader will find *Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution* worth his time and effort whether he is a scholar searching for insights into the origins of the Revolution, or an historian who believes that local monographs can help to clarify questions of national significance, or a layman who suspects that "the good old days" of virtue and integrity never really existed.

For more than a dozen years, from the late 1750's until 1770, Rhode Island politics was dominated by a bitter and intense struggle between two factions for control of the colony's political machinery. One group, led by Samuel Ward of Newport, drew most of its strength from the southern counties. The other, led by Stephen Hopkins, depended upon Providence and the northern counties. Annually, they fought for the governorship and control of the legislature. Virtually no holds were barred, and victory in the elections went to whichever side gathered the most money and the largest quantities of rum. Each side won just often enough for the system to prove profitable to everyone concerned. The victors would throw out the incumbent judges and sheriffs and fill the vacancies with their own gang. Until their turn came to be dispossessed, the members of the winning faction would shift the burden of taxes onto the towns which had voted for the enemy, and would steal from the public treasury, confident that officials of their own choosing would not bother them.

Political factionalism, however, according to the author, was really nothing but a family quarrel which was patched up in time for the colony to present a united front against attacks from outside. Rhode Island—and this is Lovejoy's central thesis—was in the forefront of the Revolutionary movement because factional government paid such high dividends that the two factions united against Great Britain to defend the charter under which they flourished.

In order to reconstruct these annual vote-buying orgies, the author has combed a vast quantity of published and manuscript material, including government records and personal correspondence. Certain aspects of his thesis, however, seem to require further thought and research.

The author believes that a large proportion of adult males in Rhode Island were legally eligible to vote. As he points out, however, relatively few people actually bothered to vote despite the vigorous campaign which the factions conducted annually. He suggests that each side avoided blasting non-voters out of their lethargy for fear that an increased

electorate would raise the costs of buying future elections. Such self-restraint, however, would require either greater foresight or closer cooperation between the two factions than the author leads the reader to believe existed. The author's reasoning upon the franchise seems dubious in other ways, as well. On the one hand, for instance, he suggests that the absence of complaints about the franchise in the pre-Revolutionary years provides evidence that the franchise was broad. But then he goes on to discuss the admittedly undemocratic and "outmoded system of representation," about which no one complained, either!

A still more serious problem is posed by the fact that Rhode Island factionalism largely died out following the election of 1770, before anti-British sentiment aroused widespread and continuous support in Rhode Island. In other words, the author's thesis leaves Rhode Islanders flocking into the Revolutionary camp in the mid 1770's to protect a political system which they had already abandoned. At least one other aspect of the chronology of the Revolutionary movement deserves more careful attention. Despite the author's frequent emphasis upon Rhode Island's leadership, other colonies, such as Massachusetts, were generally abreast of Rhode Island and in some instances were ahead in developing both the techniques and the rationale of opposition to British authority. And yet, Massachusetts had neither factional government to the extent that Rhode Island did nor did she have as liberal a charter.

Although not all colonies took the same path to Independence, the author's emphasis upon the ways in which Rhode Island *differed* may obscure many important and significant similarities. If Rhode Island's path is partially illuminated by a study of the Ward-Hopkins controversy, it might be lit still more brightly by a study of town meeting government. It is unfortunate that in the author's extensive bibliography there is no evidence that he used town records. Devotion to political self-government on the local level and the extensive political maturity which the town meeting fostered were common to all of the New England colonies. More people would likely have come into the Revolutionary camp in the mid 1770's out of fear of the loss of local self-government than out of devotion to factionalism. There is ample evidence that the town meeting and its fruits were still very much alive as the Revolutionary movement developed in Rhode Island. Perhaps fortunately for the cause of the Revolution, even if not for the thesis of this book, Rhode Island factionalism was no longer active by this time.

Despite these aspects of pre-Revolutionary Rhode Island politics which require further attention, both the author and the Brown University Press deserve praise for producing a work of local history which should interest not simply the antiquarian but the historian as well.

ROBERT A. FEER

Wellesley College

E. L. Godkin and American Foreign Policy, 1865-1900. By WILLIAM M. ARMSTRONG. New York: Bookman Associates, 1957. 268. \$5.

Personal journalism happily is a thing of the past. The American press now suffers from ills of quite a different kind. In the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, however, it still flourished, although its heyday had passed, it is true. Editors no longer horsewhipped their rivals in the public streets and they were caned less often by outraged subscribers. Even so, most of the other unlovely manifestations of editorial personality had suffered little decline. To cite some of the more conspicuous: inconsistency, idiosyncrasy, prejudice, a flair for invective, a feuding spirit, a casual regard for the laws of libel.

Edwin Lawrence Godkin was personal journalist to America's intellectual elite, from 1865 to 1900 as editor of the weekly *Nation* and from 1883 as editor also of the daily New York *Evening Post*. He aimed at a small but select group, the Knickerbocker aristocrat and his Brahmin counterpart. To this genteel audience Godkin and his gifted associates poured forth a torrent of opinion on every subject likely to appeal to gentlemanly tastes and well-educated interest in public affairs.

He was well fitted to speak to such an audience. Anglo-Irish by birth, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, Belfast-educated, he had aspirations towards the aristocracy, and found himself much at ease in Brahmin society. He possessed a lofty moral sense, which was sure of appeal to the intellectual leaders of the recent crusade against slavery. He had a lifelong addiction to the economics of Bentham and Mill, which found a congenial climate among Yankee merchants. He was a fervent Anglophile. Here again his appeal was certain, for of all Americans his chosen audience had the closest ties with England.

Godkin, however, was not one to cater slavishly to the prejudices of his audience. Such would run against the perverse credo of the personal journalist. Like many of his kind he felt compulsion to be a professional gadfly, stinging men in public office. He felt an equal compulsion to be otherwise-minded, even if it meant libel suits and loss of readers. He often went out of his way to shock his genteel audience, although seldom on matters of economics.

William A. Armstrong, of Washington College in Chestertown, has written a careful study of Godkin on foreign affairs. In this field as in national politics little escaped Godkin's notice. Almost every aspect of American diplomacy from the Civil War to the turn of the century came in for praise or censure, largely the latter. Professor Armstrong patiently traces the convolutions of Godkin's thought in the episodes of a disjointed period of American diplomacy: major ones such as Maximilian in Mexico, the *Alabama* claims, the Venezuela boundary crisis; minor ones such as the *Virginius*, the *Baltimore* riot and Minister Egan's woes in Chile, the all-but-forgotten Barrundia affair. Curiously, he passes lightly over the Spanish-American War, remarking that Godkin's bitter opposition to it is sufficiently well-known.

Professor Armstrong wisely does not attempt to find a common denomi-

nator in Godkin's views on foreign affairs. With a subject of such volatile temperament this would be self-defeating. But it is impossible to follow Professor Armstrong's meticulous analysis of episode after episode without noting the recurrence of certain themes. One is the persistence of economic motives. Time and again Godkin revealed the commercial consideration behind the moral principle, so much so that Henry Adams accused him of identifying morality with vested interests. Mexican intervention would be expensive; so would governing Caribbean islands; disputes with England depressed the price of stocks; colonialism was incompatible with free trade; unrestricted Chinese immigration was desirable as a source of cheap labor; and so on.

Another is pride of race. Godkin was as fervent a believer in Anglo-Saxon superiority as any advocate of Manifest Destiny. To him civilization had reached its zenith in the white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon society then existing in England, and in New England. But unlike them he had no taste for the white man's burden. Rather, he dreaded the difficulty, and the cost, of ruling other peoples.

Still another theme is Anglophilia. This was not invariably the case at the outset of an Anglo-American controversy but eventually Godkin worked around to defense of the British position. Like most of his other subjectivities, this tendency became more pronounced in his later years, as he became increasingly disillusioned with America. It shows up not only in direct clashes of interest such as the Venezuelan boundary controversy but even in situations such as the civil war in Chile, where Great Britain was involved only to a negligible extent.

It should be remembered, as Professor Armstrong reminds us, that Godkin was not invariably a capricious and destructive critic. He was on occasion a vigorous if not always coherent advocate of causes, most notably anti-imperialism. In fact, Godkin often reached what many, including later historians, considered the right result. Characteristically, he reached it more often than not for what they considered the wrong reasons.

This brings up inevitably the question of Godkin's influence. Professor Armstrong does not take this up with direct reference to foreign affairs, although in an early chapter he gives attention to Godkin's general influence on his public. The latter in turn well may be overstated. The temptation is strong to ascribe influence to him because of his audience. He spoke, it is true, to an intellectual elite, but to what extent did that elite have political power? To what extent was it even in sympathy with its own age? He was widely read, it is true, by other editors, but how much significance should be attached to this in an age of independent and personal journalism?

Foreign policy has so many aspects peculiar to itself that separate analysis of Godkin's influence in this separate field would seem in order. What effect, for example, did he have on those in power? For one thing, as a free trader, Godkin was at an immediate disadvantage with the men who ran America. Bearing in mind the President's broad constitutional authority in foreign affairs, it is suggestive that Godkin was at odds with

all Presidents except, for a while, Hayes and Cleveland. Bearing in mind the influence of an active and imaginative Secretary of State, it is equally suggestive that he carried on a rancorous personal vendetta against Blaine.

This should not be allowed, however, to obscure the fact that Professor Armstrong has given us a fine workmanlike study, ably analyzing and illuminating the ideas and opinions of a significant figure in Nineteenth Century American journalism. It is, incidentally, a study which is noticeably better written than the generality of its kind.

CHARLES A. SULLIVAN

U. S. State Department

A Yankee Jeffersonian: Selections from the Diary and Letters of William Lee of Massachusetts Written from 1796 to 1840. Edited by MARY LEE MANN. With a foreword by ALLAN NEVINS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. xvii, 312 pp. \$5.75.

For most of his adult life William Lee acted on the periphery of American political life. Never elected to public office, he contented himself with minor political appointments in France and in Washington. Born in 1772 in Nova Scotia either he or his parents (the point is not clarified) resisted the cause of British loyalism, and young Lee was sent to school at Phillips Andover. At the age of 18 he entered the business community in Boston and was evidently well enough regarded to have won the hand of the daughter of William Palfrey, formerly Washington's aide-de-camp and paymaster general of the Continental army.

In the mid-1790's Lee traveled to Europe where he spent two and a half years transacting mercantile business. Upon his return he sought with success a consular appointment at Bordeaux. There he remained with his family for the first decade of the nineteenth century and, since consuls (or "commercial agents," as Napoleon, First Consul of France, insisted they be designated) received no salary and relatively small commissions, Lee gained a living as agent for the import-export house of Perrot and Lee. A brief visit to the United States in 1810 earned him a second post as acting secretary of legation to his close friend, Joel Barlow, newly-appointed minister to France. In a letter to his wife, who had remained in Bordeaux, Lee cautioned her not to mention this new position because "according to the constitution of the United States a man cannot hold two offices. . . . I shall do the business and have the emoluments without the character publicly" (p. 135).

Barlow's death in 1813 forced Lee to concentrate on his duties at Bordeaux, where he was primarily engaged in aiding distressed American seamen and in disposing of prizes captured and brought into French ports by American privateers. The occupation of Bordeaux in 1814 by the British, coupled with Lee's obvious sympathy for Napoleon, made his position there untenable. Returning to the United States in 1816, he at first rejected and then, mainly at his wife's urging, accepted a post as accountant in the War Department; shortly thereafter he was appointed

second auditor of the Treasury, filling that office for the next twelve years. Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency in that pre-Civil Service era ended Lee's public career, but he was able to live his last years in relative comfort, thanks to a second marriage, in 1830, to a wealthy Boston widow.

Although the subtitle might lead one to expect to find within these covers selected diary entries for approximately the first half of the nineteenth century, perhaps interspersed with letters which fill in gaps or amplify diary notations, the diary selections record only Lee's initial journey to Europe and the only one in which he acted in a wholly private capacity. Most of the entries are of a purely touristic nature, describing among other things several visits to the theatre. In later years Lee was to declare his hostility towards this form of entertainment (p. 62), perhaps a result of his dislike of the costumes worn by some of the actresses and described in detail by him during that first trip (p. 13).

The book itself is divided into eight chapters, arranged in chronological order with a knowledgeable introduction to each by the editor. The diary comprises only the first chapter, occupying about one-fifth of the work. The remaining four-fifths (or seven chapters) are reserved for letters written by Lee between 1802 and 1837. Writing mostly to his wife in the early years and then progressively more and more to his daughter Susan and her younger sister Mary, Lee concerned himself mainly with personal and social matters. (The title of one chapter is "Gossip from Paris.") He enjoyed buying clothes for his wife and children (in addition to Susan and Mary, Lee had two sons, William Barlow Lee and Thomas Jefferson Lee); he was continually assuaging his wife's concern about their lack of wealth ("You fret too much" [p. 115]); during her formative years he kept reminding his elder daughter of the importance of correct posture (see especially p. 93).

Very little official correspondence is included. The only strong concentration is in that section which describes the last few years of the Napoleonic era and the difficulties of being an "American in Bordeaux" during that hectic period. Upon Lee's return to the United States in 1816, his correspondence is heavily weighted in three years: 1822 (the year his first wife died), 1824 (the year preceding his daughter Mary's marriage to Baron de Maltitz, a member of the Russian legation), and 1834 (the year in which his second wife died). While many of his letters bear on these subjects, much of Washington affairs as seen and heard by an interested though not always perceptive observer manages to creep in.

The editing is solid but the proportion is occasionally disconcerting; compare, for example, the heavily-annotated mention of Mayor Weightman (p. 289-290) with the rather curious note on Charles Desnouettes (p. 290) which nowhere indicates if Lee had ever published his sketch on the gentlemen which he said he was writing and to which this footnote refers (p. 198). A chronology has been included, valuable only because it has a few references to Lee's life which cannot be discovered in the text. The index is not the most useful one ever prepared.

LEONARD C. FABER

A Yankee's Odyssey, The Life of Joel Barlow. By JAMES WOODRESS.
Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. 347. \$5.95.

This is a well-written and absorbing biography of a poet and politician who was one of the interesting company of American business men whose activities between the American Revolution and the War of 1812 led them to spend much of their time in Europe. Little is known about most of them, but Joel Barlow has long since occupied a place in the American history of this period. His poetry, except for one long ode to the *Hasty Pudding*, is mediocre, and his business ventures were not distinguished either by their ethics or their success. His reputation comes rather from his colorful mission to Algiers to pay off the Barbary Pirates, and from his last assignment in France which was cut short by his death. Barlow was in Europe from 1788 to 1805, and witnessed the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. He knew all the Americans living in Paris then, and many of the French leaders. He was one of a group of distinguished Americans, including Washington, Hamilton and Paine who were given French citizenship.

Barlow returned to France in 1811, this time as American Minister. He decided to seek out Napoleon, absent from Paris on the ill-starred Russian Campaign. He caught pneumonia and died in a little Polish village between Warsaw and Cracow.

The author has found and used an impressive collection of detail which he has kept from overshadowing the story by means of skilful writing. It makes excellent reading. The period in which Barlow lived was filled with dramatic events which have become an important part of history on both sides of the Atlantic. Some of these events still present problems and mysteries for the historian of today, who will be grateful for the new light provided in this book. The light would be clearer and more easily directed if the footnotes were easier to use. Actually, there are not footnotes, for there is nothing in the text to indicate their presence at the end of the book, collected by chapters, but very difficult to identify, since they are not numbered. There is a good index and an interesting series of illustrations. In the case of one of these, the portrait of Mrs. Barlow by Charles de Villette, there is evidence of occasional failure to check sources. Although Madame de Villette, mother of Charles, is properly spoken of as a Marquise elsewhere in the book, she is incorrectly labelled a Countess in the caption of the portrait. Her son, born in 1792, would scarcely have been competent to do the portrait, as the caption suggests he did "between 1801 and 1804." On the other hand, the political and diplomatic details are carefully documented, which makes them especially valuable to the scholar. It is seldom that such a scholarly book is presented in a form so attractive to the general reader.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN

Frederick, Maryland

Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710-1838. By J. HARRY BENNETT, JR. (University of California Publications in History, Volume 62). University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958. xii, 166 pp. \$3.50.

When Christopher Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands (1699-1703) died in April, 1710, he left two plantations on the island of Barbados to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. According to his will, the Society was to maintain the plantations with three hundred slaves and establish a school to train missionaries in order to convert the West Indian slaves to Christianity. The Society accepted the bequest, and this book is a study of slavery on its estate.

The first chapter summarizes the history of Codrington College and the Plantations from 1710 to 1838. The estate was operated by a local committee, a manager and a town agent until 1813 when the Society placed the plantations in charge of a single factor. Codrington College did not open until 1745 and did not accomplish its purpose until 1830 when a seminary was established which soon had graduates serving the emancipated Negroes in the British West Indies.

The remainder of the book analyzes the labor system and the development of an enlightened policy toward the Codrington slaves. In the eighteenth century the Society's slaves were treated like those of other Barbadian planters except that they were taught by catechists sent by the Society to convert them to Christianity. The sugar plantation work was hard. Children began gathering fodder for the livestock when they were seven or eight years old. Discipline was strict and brutal, and, as a rule, the Codrington Negroes had to provide their own shelter. They also received the standard Barbados ration of a pint of corn a day and a pound of fish a week until 1760 when the amount of corn was doubled.

The high loss of slaves in the West Indian plantation economy made the maintenance of a labor force at full strength a severe problem. To maintain the labor supply on the Codrington estate, the policy of buying new slaves was tried first. After purchasing about 450 Negroes between 1712 and 1761, the slave population (190) was $\frac{1}{3}$ less than what it was in 1712 (292) when the Society took over the plantations. From the records of the Society, the author shows what happened with harsh treatment and bad living conditions. There were six deaths to every birth at Codrington in the years from 1712 to 1748, and a 50% loss in the first five years of infancy according to statistics for the years 1743 to 1748.

When the purchase of new Africans failed to balance the slave losses, other expedients were tried to keep up strength or maintain production, including hiring slave gangs, reducing crop production, concentrating the slaves in the field gangs, and purchasing seasoned slaves. They were either too expensive or the slave losses did not diminish enough to solve the problem, and after 1767 no more slaves were purchased or hired by the Society. There was a change in the thinking of its members concerning the treatment of its slaves.

Amelioration came, the author finds, as a result of the severe slave losses and the failure of the Society's efforts to convert its Negroes. The missionary corporation maintained that slavery and Christianity were compatible, but when its converts by oral instruction were criticized as nominal Christians only, the Society realized that its slaves must be allowed some degree of civilization if they were to profit from the Christian teachings.

Financial stress prevented anything more than token changes being made in the treatment of the slaves until after 1793. To make them model Christians, the Society improved their environment. Better housing, more garden space and better medical care were provided. Field work was reduced by using the plow for planting and by planting less area with more productive types of cane. Two white women were hired in 1797 to teach the young reading and the principles of Religion. As a result the population increased from 266 in 1763 to 355 in 1823. Amelioration was a success; it reversed the trend of declining population and cost no more than the purchasing of new slaves had in the period from 1712 to 1761.

While the Society pioneered in relieving the slaves' condition on Barbados, it refused to agree to gradual emancipation until the attacks of the abolitionists in England forced it to do so. It sided with the planters, hoping to win them over to Negro Christianity until 1830 when it tentatively adopted a plan for emancipation. In 1834 the Society began an allotment system whereby each slave family was given a cottage and plot of land on which they were to provide for their own subsistence and pay rent in the form of labor to the plantation. Full freedom for the Codrington Negroes came on May 30, 1838, two months before it was granted by the Barbadian assembly. The Codrington system of " 'located laborers' " was used on the island until 1937 when it was abolished as semi-feudal, but the Society was recognized at the time as a pioneer in the work of emancipation.

The author has written a scholarly monograph, filling the need for a detailed study of West Indian plantation operations. The correspondence between the Society and its agents on Barbados lasted without interruption until the Negroes were fully emancipated, and is preserved today in the London archives of the corporation. Among the manuscripts are crop lists, inventories of slaves and livestock, account books, and the minutes of the Codrington attorneys, all of which have been used to make a thorough study. The important statistics of the labor system are presented in table form. There is no bibliography, but a list of manuscript sources and chapter notes follow the text. The book is well designed except for the inconvenient location of the footnotes, and the quality of printing equals that of the scholar's work.

WILLIAM L. MCDOWELL, JR.

S. C. Archives Department

Ben Butler: The South Called Him Beast. By HANS L. TREFOUSSE.
New York: Twayne Publishers, 1957. 365 pp. \$5.

An ugly, almost disfigured man, a lawyer who could curse the judge on the bench, a politician who could accuse an opponent of having a venereal disease, and who could change his stand on leading issues almost overnight, trimming his sails to catch whatever political wind might blow, making a principle of expediency—Benjamin F. Butler was all this and more, as Mr. Trefousse's biography clearly shows. In many ways, unfortunately, Butler typified the kind of politician that came along in the mid-nineteenth century and dominated the national scene after the Civil War.

The author traces Butler's career from the rather lean pre-war years when he was an administration Democrat in Republican Massachusetts, through the Civil War, when General Butler changed from a leading Radical Republican in the '60s and '70s and became a part of such lost causes as the Greenback movement. Judging from the facts of Butler's career, there can be little doubt that, although he may have retained some shreds of class-conscious Jacksonian idealism, he was a man without principles. Before the Civil War, when he was hoping for favors from the Democrats, he was anti-Negro; after the war he was a passionate protagonist of the freedmen—but also now anti-Chinese! As a Radical he waved the bloody shirt, and a few years later, while making eyes at the Democrats, he favored pensions for Confederate soldiers. In the Democratic convention of 1860 he voted over 50 times for Jefferson Davis as the party's presidential nominee, yet within a year he was a Radical. Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. Butler was for Butler first, Butler last, and Butler all the time.

Mr. Trefousse devotes approximately forty per cent of his book to Butler's Civil War activities, but adds little that is new. Was Butler a crook? Did he engage in contraband trade? The author apparently encountered nothing more than the usual suspicions and accusations. It is difficult to believe that a more thorough examination of relevant manuscript collections would not have turned up something more definite. For example, in the Nathaniel P. Banks Papers there is a letter to Banks from C. A. Weed and A. J. Butler (the general's brother) offering Banks \$100,000 if he would extend to them the same commercial privileges they had enjoyed while Butler was in command at New Orleans. And in the Smith-Brady investigation of affairs at New Orleans there is testimony concerning contraband trade with the Confederates—and even some information about the famous silverware. While these little mysteries are not of supreme importance, it is still disappointing that they have not been cleared up. So far as Butler's over-all administration of New Orleans is concerned, Mr. Trefousse makes it clear that the general kept the city clean and maintained order, although sometimes acting in a capricious and unjust manner.

After his removal from command in New Orleans, Butler was eventually assigned to the Virginia theatre of operations, where his lack of military

success is adequately described by the author. This assignment once again illustrated the importance President Lincoln attached to Butler's political friendship. After the war Butler played a prominent part in the trial of Andrew Johnson, and later not only became reconciled with Grant (who had spoken the plain truth about Butler's military fiascos), but was one of the general's trusted allies. After Grant's second term, however, Butler drifted out of the Republican party, and, with the exception of a single term as governor of Massachusetts, his political fortunes steadily declined. He died early in 1893, probably of pneumonia.

Mr. Trefousse has written what is essentially a political biography, and for the most part has told his story in a clear and straightforward way. But one gets the impression while reading the book that there are important things going on which have not been brought to light. Perhaps one reason for this is the author's too-heavy reliance on the Butler Papers. Some thirty-five manuscript sources are listed in the bibliography, but about three-fourths of the manuscript citations in the footnotes refer to the Butler Papers. Also, the very rich Robert Todd Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress was evidently not consulted. Before a complete picture of Butler's career can be constructed, a more thorough search of available manuscript sources must be made.

A less serious shortcoming is the author's failure to bring Butler to life; perhaps some choice quotations from Butler's extensive speeches and writings would have made his personality emerge more clearly. There are also some minor errors of fact. Richmond is about 100 miles from Washington, not 150, and the same thing is true of the distances by river from Hampton Roads to Bermuda Hundred (pp. 77, 148). No Union prisoners were at Andersonville in the fall of 1863; the first arrived in February 1864 (pp. 140-41); and Pierre Soulé was hardly an "arch-secessionist" (p. 117).

On the whole, however, this should prove to be a useful book, and a help to further research in the period. But the definitive biography of this rascal Butler has yet to be written.

LUDWELL H. JOHNSON, III

College of William and Mary

The Confederate Reader. Edited by RICHARD B. HARWELL. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957. xxvi, 389 pp. \$7.50. *The Union Reader.* Edited by RICHARD B. HARWELL. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958. xxii, 362 pp. \$7.50.

Richard B. Harwell, a rather well known student and writer about the great American Civil War, claims that his two recent anthologies are "as the South saw the war" and "as the North saw the war." Because these are edited anthologies it might be better to say that they present views from specific Yankee or Rebel vantagepoints. No one will or should feel that now he has an understanding of either side, after reading these two

books, for as is the case with all anthologies, there is only the whetting of the interest or else the adding to some knowledge already acquired. Although previous study of the Civil War will add to a reader's enjoyment of these two books, even the novice in the overwhelming Civil War cult should find both books stimulating, educational, and down right enjoyable.

Various aspects of life on both the Union and Confederate sides are presented in a sort of chronological arrangement. The selections included in the two books are too numerous to mention in detail—56 in *The Confederate Reader* and 40 in *The Union Reader*. Naturally an editor who undertakes to select a mere handful of material from the tons of writings available, leaves himself open to varied criticism. The editor here has done a nice job in selecting some little known items as well as those more familiar to the average reader. Most of the selections are based on eye-witness accounts—actual participants describe the events. And to give a degree of balance to both books, there are the military and civilian sides, writings of general and private, male and female, Jew and gentile, minister, editor, and politician. Although throughout both books, Mr. Harwell gives very brief and interesting introductions to the various chapters, he lets the Yankees and the Rebels speak for themselves.

Many readers will be surprised to learn that the West did know about the Civil War, and also took an active part, e. g., Colorado Volunteers. Marylanders should find the following selections of special interest: Franklin Buchanan's official account of the Battle of Hampton Roads; The Invasion of Maryland; *The Alabama Versus the Hatteras* (all in *The Confederate Reader*); Address to the People of Maryland by the General Assembly; Maryland Invaded, a report of Lewis H. Steiner, M. D.; *The Alabama* and the *Kearsarge*; The Peace Conference and the role played by Francis P. Blair of Maryland (all in *The Union Reader*).

Mr. Harwell's "*Readers*" should be considered valuable additions to the rapidly growing Civil War libraries, and even the amateur historian will find that either or both books give several hours of pleasant reading.

WILLIAM H. WROTEN, JR.

State Teachers College
Salisbury, Md.

The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop. By EDMUND MORGAN. [*The Library of American Biography*, OSCAR HANDLIN, ed.]. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1958. 224. \$3.50.

Seventeenth century American Puritanism is fascinating. More than simply a religion, it represents one of the great social, economic, and political forces shaping the colonies, and consequently, the future republic. John Winthrop, the guiding light of early New England Puritanism, is therefore a fit subject for biography—indeed biographies. This one, Professor Morgan's story, is an explanation of the Puritan, Winthrop,

with his eyes heavenward but his feet earthbound; his hope and desire for a new Zion constantly disrupted by problems of government and order, the material and spiritual world, and the disconcertion of heresy and imperial interference. These constitute the Puritan dilemma.

Morgan makes a conscious effort to change the interpretation of Winthrop; to turn back the almost rancorous views of J. T. Adams and V. L. Parrington. It is perhaps a laudable and worth-while effort, but one wonders if this series—*The Library of American Biography*—is the proper place for it. The series is obviously geared to the general reader and for the consumption of undergraduate collegiates, for the volumes are short and without notation except for an essay on sources.

RICHARD WALSH

Georgetown University

The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789-1801. By NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.) Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957. vii, 279 pp. \$6.

The study of early American parties, specifically colonial, revolutionary, and those of the first years of the republic, has been badly confused by pat definitions of what constitutes "party." Cunningham's fine contribution in *The Jeffersonian Republicans* is his "following contemporary usage in describing political devices and practices." To contemporaries "interest" was party. The author describes the political techniques of one of the two major "interests," the Jeffersonian Republicans, in its first and most important decade of development. From inchoate and confused beginnings in 1789, it had become a national entity and powerful organ for public usage by 1800.

RICHARD WALSH

Georgetown University

Bewitching Betsy Bonaparte. By ALICE CURTIS DESMOND. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1958. x, 306 pp. \$3.50.

There is a fresh wave of sighs in Baltimore, across Maryland, and throughout the land. The story of a Baltimore beauty and her tragic love has been told in a new book just published for younger adults. Alice Desmond, whose previous books include biographies of Martha Washington, Dolley Madison, and Elizabeth Hamilton, selected Betsy Patterson Bonaparte as her current heroine.

The Elizabeth Patterson saga is well known to many readers of this

Magazine. She was the daughter of a prominent Baltimore merchant and a staunch Presbyterian, William Patterson. Betsey and Jerome, the youngest brother of the great Napoleon, fell instantly in love when he visited America in 1803. Her father opposed the marriage but, when convinced that his daughter was determined, arranged a wedding officiated by Archbishop Carroll in the Baltimore cathedral.

For a few months the happiness of the couple was ecstatic. President Jefferson entertained them at the White House, and they were feted throughout the country. In 1805 they sailed secretly to Lisbon where Jerome left to go overland to Paris ostensibly to convince Napoleon that the marriage should be recognized. He never returned to her. For him there was the crown of the King of Westphalia and an eligible if rather dull marriage. For Betsy there was a son and years of waiting, hoping, dreaming first of a reunion, then a reconciliation, later a royal marriage for her son, finally a suitable European connection for her two grandsons. She was disappointed repeatedly in each fondly held hope for the remaining sixty-nine years of her life. Her son married an American girl. The final blow for Betsy came when her grandson, Charles J. Bonaparte, turned his back on a possible European career and said he was American. His distinguished career, capped by two cabinet posts, would perhaps—being American—have disappointed Betsy.

Betsy's fascination with the glitter of European royalty was life long. She did not remarry, though she certainly could have; she did not try to rebuild her life, though some may think she should have; she narrowed and diminished her life and vision, with no thought, apparently, of enlargement of view or effort. But it is now not ours to judge "bewitching Betsy" or the manner in which she lived her ninety-four years. Mrs. Desmond has told this American fairy tale in a fascinating manner that can be enjoyed by first readers and old hands alike.

FRED SHELLEY

Library of Congress

Liberty and Justice: A Historical Record of American Constitutional Development. Edited by JAMES M. SMITH and PAUL L. MURPHY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958. xxxvi, 564 pp. \$6.95.

This useful work is indeed what its sub-title proclaims it to be: a historical record of American constitutional development. To display the record Messrs. Smith and Murphy present excerpts from nearly 300 documents ranging in date from 1606 to 1956. The earlier documents exhibit some of the sources of the American constitutional tradition. Those subsequent to 1789 show the impact of America's multiform growth upon her fundamental law. The leading Supreme Court decisions are here, but not alone; resolutions and statutes, speeches and newspaper commentaries, petitions and presidential messages, letters, pamphlets and

sermons speak to us in contemporaneous voice of the major political and economic issues upon which the Court was called to decide. This then is no skeleton of the law, but a fleshed record of constitutional adaptation to changing human needs. The book's 28 chapters are oriented both chronologically and topically. Each of them is introduced by incisive editorial stage-setting. Twelve of the chapters are devoted to the pre-Civil War period, eight to the years from 1865 to 1930, and the final eight to the quarter-century since then. The editors decision to devote nearly a third of the book to the past 25 years seems justified in view of the revolution which has so recently taken place in the areas of government-business relations and of civil liberties. The volume, in sum, makes not only an excellent companion to any good text in American history, but can be read for profit and pleasure by any citizen with a careful turn of mind.

STUART BRUCHEY

Michigan State University

NOTES AND QUERIES

The Francis Parkman Prize for 1959: The Society of American Historians, announces a cash award of \$500, and an inscribed scroll to be awarded to an author in the field of American history or biography. Authors may be in academic or other activities such as journalism. A book submitted should, or may, deal with any aspect of the colonial or national history of what is now the United States. Colonial history would admit of a treatment of the English, French, or Spanish background if definitely connected with the colonies. Literary, religious, economic, political, scientific and technological, legal and constitutional history, and the history of foreign relations would fall within the field. Any book submitted will be judged on both its sound historical scholarship and literary style. No work which does not measure up to a high standard of historical scholarship will be considered for the Prize. The fourth annual Francis Parkman Prize will be awarded for a book published within the calendar year 1959.

For further information address: Rudolf A. Clemen, Executive Vice President, The Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton University Library, Princeton, N. J.

Ulster-Scot Historical Society: Information has been received of the existence of a research and historical society in Northern Ireland known as the Ulster-Scot Historical Society, of which His Grace The Duke of Abercorn is President and K. Darwin, Deputy Keeper of the Records of Northern Ireland, is Director. The Society is willing to undertake genealogical research in Northern Ireland and is particularly anxious to have its services brought to the attention of Americans who have ancestral roots in Ulster. The Society also hopes to publish material about Ulster-Scot historical topics (better known in America as Scots-Irish History) and would welcome correspondence with persons in the United States interested in this subject.

All letters should be addressed to Miss I. Embleton, Secretary, Ulster-Scot Historical Society, Law Courts Building, Chichester Street, Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Cox—Price: Information is wanted concerning the parents of James Cox, born July 19, 1784, Delaware, and of Sophia Price, born Jan. 25, 1796, Maryland. They were married in 1813, Ross Co., Ohio.

Emerson—Downey: Information also would be appreciated concerning Thomas Emerson (Emmerson, Emberson), born 1755, place unknown, and of his wife Mary Downey, date and place of birth unknown. They

were married Nov. 12, 1779, Washington Co., Maryland, reared a large family in Hampshire Co., Va., and moved to Pickaway Co., Ohio, about 1807.

Newell Cox,
Box 422, Perry Point, Md.

Colburn—Gould—Rogers: I am seeking information on Alexander Gould, Sr., an early Baltimore resident, and James L. Rogers, who was married to Gould's daughter, Elizabeth Susan Rogers, and was reported to have been related to Edgar Allan Poe. Also information is desired on Harvey (or Hervey) Colburn and his wife, Elizabeth Knight Colburn, parents of Rev. Edward A. Colburn.

Layton Rogers Colburn,
106 Heather Lane,
Delray Beach, Florida.

Gen. Joseph Wilkinson: I am interested in any information about Gen. Joseph Wilkinson, of Calvert County, Md., born 1758, died 1820, married to Barbara Mackall, also of Calvert County.

W. Emmet Wilkinson, Jr., M. D.
609 Cathedral Street, Baltimore 1.

Gustavus Hesselius: Any information is requested concerning the life or work of the Swedish-American painter Gustavus Hesselius (1682-1755). Address: Roland E. Fleischer, Art Department, University of Miami, Coral Gables 46, Florida.

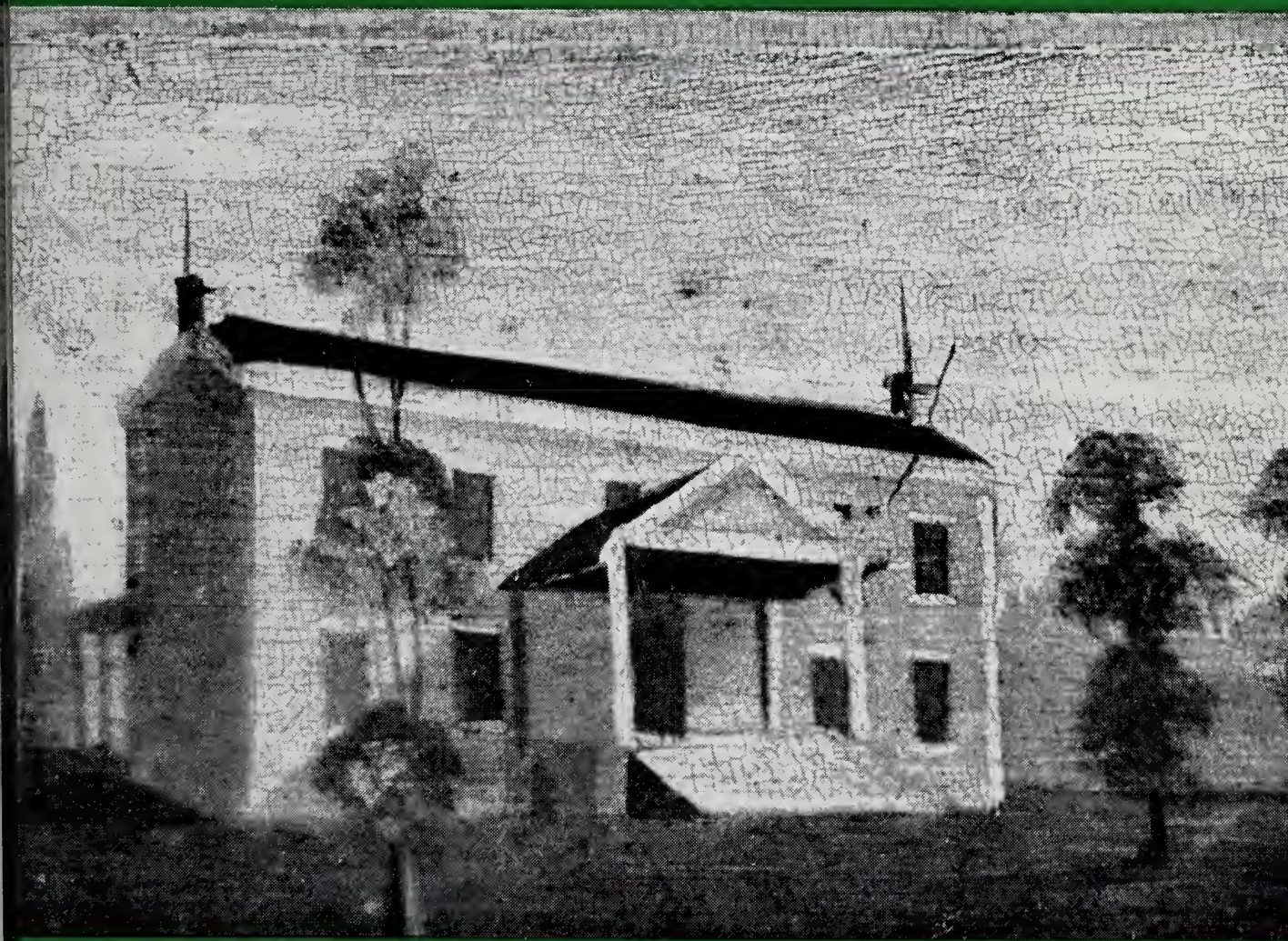
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



"The Vineyard," Baltimore, c. 1805

(See pp. 353 ff.)

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VOL. 54. No. 4

DECEMBER, 1959

CONTENTS

PAGE

Charles J. Bonaparte and Negro Suffrage in Maryland	
Jane L. Phelps	331
Some Baltimore City Place Names	William B. Marye 353
Maryland Population: 1631-1730	Arthur E. Karinen 365
Sidelights	408
A Marylander in the Mexican War: Some Letters of J. J. Archer, ed. by C. A. Porter Hopkins.	
Reviews of Recent Books	423
Huthmacher, <i>Massachusetts People and Politics, 1919-1923</i> , by Nelson M. Blake.	
Nichols, <i>Religion and American Democracy</i> , by John Tracy Ellis.	
Schrier, <i>Ireland and the American Emigration 1850-1900</i> , by Arthur E. Karinen.	
Thane, <i>The Family Quarrel: A Journey through the Years of the Revolution</i> , by Ellen Hart Smith.	
Tolman, <i>The Life and Works of Edward Green Malbone, 1777- 1807</i> , by Anna Wells Rutledge.	
Degler, <i>Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America</i> , by J. Joseph Huthmacher.	
Bean, <i>Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton</i> , by Theodore M. Whitfield.	
Lynham, <i>The Chevy Chase Club: A History, 1885-1957</i> , by C. A. P. H.	
Williams, <i>Vogues in Villainy: Crime and Retribution in Ante- Bellum South Carolina</i> , by Dorothy M. Brown.	
Notes and Queries	434
Contributors	438

Cover: The view of "The Vineyard" is reproduced from the top rail of the settee in a set of painted drawing room pieces in the Sheraton style by courtesy of the owners, Mrs. Edward C. Venable and Mrs. Herbert C. de Roth. The work of Baltimore furniture makers John and High Findlay, circa 1805, the set is on exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art. "The Vineyard," on Vineyard Lane, is described in Mr. Marye's article in this issue.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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CHARLES J. BONAPARTE AND NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN MARYLAND

By JANE L. PHELPS

IN the early years of the twentieth century, Maryland and particularly the city of Baltimore, witnessed a strong attempt to disenfranchise Negro voters. The movement originated in the state election of 1905, and in subsequent state elections its scope spread beyond merely the Negro to encompass other voters who were deemed "unworthy" to exercise the privilege of suffrage by certain "worthy" citizens.¹

Prominent in the fight against disenfranchisement was Charles J.

¹ In the state election of 1905, the proposal to amend the state constitution was the Poe Amendment. In 1908, another constitutional amendment dealing with voting rights was proposed, this time it was called the Strauss Amendment. In 1911, a similar amendment was proposed and this was termed the Digges Amendment. In this study only the Poe and Strauss Amendments will be discussed.

Bonaparte whose very social position in Maryland and whose heritage might have made him a leader in the disenfranchisement movement. He, a leading Baltimore lawyer, had been born in that city on June 9, 1851. He was a wealthy man but not ostentatious; by birth a member of the elite of Baltimore and Maryland society, and as a descendant of French royalty, he was held in awe by many people.² It cannot be said that he disappointed such persons, for he was intensely interested in his genealogy, an avid collector of Napoleana; but he was an American-born citizen. He never once left the continent for a trip through Europe, and always he was more interested in the United States than in any of the European countries. His successful law practice in Baltimore was mainly devoted to the handling of estate cases and his own personal family affairs. The Bonaparte holdings in real estate in Maryland were extensive and much of his time and attention was directed to the management of these matters. Occasionally, however, he would accept an indigent case, usually when he felt that the poor were being unjustly treated by the law.³

In spite of his large legal practice, Bonaparte always found time to indulge his interest in reform causes which had for their aim the improvement of political and social conditions. He was one of the founders of the National Civil Service Reform League; and also belonged to the National Municipal League, of which he was president in 1908. He belonged to the Baltimore Reform

² Charles J. Bonaparte was the grandnephew of Napoleon Bonaparte; the grandson of Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome, who married Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore in 1803. Charles Bonaparte's father was Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, born in Camberwell, England, July 7, 1805, after Napoleon had induced Jerome to abandon his young wife, Elizabeth, enticing him by offering him the throne of Westphalia if he would leave her. Their son, Jerome, married Susan May Williams, a Baltimore debutante, and of this marriage two sons were born—Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr., who was born in Baltimore and died at Pride's Crossing, Mass., in 1893; and Charles Joseph Bonaparte, twenty-one years younger than his brother. Charles was educated in Baltimore, attended Harvard College and Law School. He was married at Newport, R.I., in 1875, to Ellen Channing Day and had no children (*vide* Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Charles Joseph Bonaparte: His Life and Public Services* [New York, 1922]).

³ An example of this was the time Bonaparte undertook to defend a poor woman who was being sued for non-payment of insurance policy funds. He spent many days examining the case, personally appeared in court, and was rewarded by the acquittal of his client (Interview with the Honorable Morris A. Soper, Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, Baltimore, Md., October 31, 1958).

League, the Society for the Prevention of Vice, and the Charity Organization Society in Baltimore, was a close friend of Cardinal Gibbons and a trustee of the Roman Catholic Cathedral, to mention but a few of the organizations in which he was interested.

He first achieved national importance when Theodore Roosevelt appointed him to the Board of Indian Affairs in 1902, serving until 1904. In 1903, the President again selected him for a special investigating body, this time to delve into the Post Office scandals in Baltimore and Philadelphia. In 1904, he was the only Republican Presidential Elector from Maryland—an honor, he often said, not due to his personal reputation or to that of the Maryland Republican party, but, quite simply, because his name was placed near to top of the alphabetically arranged voting list. Thus, when in mid-1905, Roosevelt nominated him to the cabinet post of Secretary of the Navy, Charles Bonaparte was comparatively well known outside of Maryland and, while certainly not a national figure, people were familiar with his name and associated him with “do gooder” causes.

That Bonaparte did not assume a position of leadership in the disenfranchisement movement was due not only to his regard for the Negro race and to his belief in the inherent right of the Negro to vote, but, also, to his unerring sense of what was right and just under the Constitution. The Constitution of the United States, in the Fifteenth Amendment granted the privilege of suffrage to Negroes and accordingly, Charles Bonaparte felt obliged to uphold that privilege.

Bonaparte was a skilled jurist. Attorney General of the United States from 1906-1909, he was responsible for the adoption of the novel legal theory of receivership for illegal trusts and was also responsible for the institution of a special investigative force for the Department of Justice, a force which formed the nucleus of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. While he was a practical lawyer, the ordinary events of day-to-day law practice sometimes bored him, but the law was his consuming passion in life. He was an artist of law; he was a lawyer’s lawyer. Law for him was like a silken tapestry and any flaw in it, as in the case of a flaw in a work of art, annoyed and distressed him. Law for him was his life and his art. Yet, he was not entirely an idealist, for he well

realized how imperfect human nature could be. He knew that perfection in law, as in life, was the treasure that eluded ordinary men. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights were, to Bonaparte, guideposts to legal concepts insuring the freedom of the individual and not to be tampered with lightly. An amendment such as the Fifteenth which guaranteed the right of suffrage to the Negro was inviolable as long as it remained a part of the Constitution and, thus, he fought with all the passion he could muster to ensure continuance of the privilege. He was not in the truest sense a Negrophil, but he was a lawyer who firmly believed in upholding their due rights and privileges and in doing this he became the champion of the underdog. Perhaps nothing pinpoints the American democratic ideal as this story—the grandnephew of Napoleon, championing the cause of the Negro, but one generation removed from slavery.

At no time did Charles Bonaparte occupy a clear and concise position on the Maryland political scene—a man of independent frame of mind. In fact, at the time of his appointment as Secretary of the Navy, many people in the state were uncertain whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. This confusion was in keeping with the character of the man. Indeed, it is almost possible to conjure up a mental picture of him smiling his lopsided smile and nodding gently to himself when first reports of this dilemma reached him, for he was much more of a “maverick” than a “regular” party man. There had been times when he crossed party lines to fight for a good cause, and there would be times in the future when he would appeal to the independent element in both parties to vote on certain legislation irrespective of party sponsorship—such as in the fight against the Poe Amendment to the Maryland constitution.

His appointment to the cabinet of President Roosevelt in 1905, came as a complete surprise not only to the nation but also to Maryland Republican leaders. Clearly, it was a personal appointment, for as reported at the time: “The news of Mr. Bonaparte’s selection has created the greatest astonishment among the Maryland Republican leaders, none of whom was apparently consulted by the President as to whether the appointment of Mr. Bonaparte to a Cabinet position would be agreeable to them.” Mr. Bonaparte

is at outs with the Republican party organization of his State, and if it had been known that there was a chance for the appointment of a Maryland man to such a high office, the organization leaders would unquestionably have suggested somebody else and opposed Mr. Bonaparte had the President indicated a preference for him.”⁴ Since Bonaparte was at odds with the leaders of his own party, it can hardly be supposed that the Democratic party, with whose leaders he had fought for years over various issues in Maryland, would have proposed him for the appointment. The amazement which struck both parties in Maryland when the appointment was announced was genuine. Roosevelt was rewarding a friend and advisor of many years standing.

Bonaparte on the state political level, if an Independent, leaned more toward the Republican party than toward complete independence. It would have been evident to a person of Bonaparte's pragmatic mind that, while an independent vote was important, it seldom was able to elect candidates or propose legislation. For example, however much influence the third party has exerted on the two major parties, it has been a failure. Soon after the assumption of his cabinet post, Bonaparte began to show signs that he was more Republican than Independent. In fact, his friends and associates expected, since he now was in the inner councils of the Administration, that he would handle the patronage of Maryland. This prospect was frightening to the “regular” party machine Republicans because it was feared that Bonaparte would ignore the recommendations of these politicians. If this happened, they reasoned, it was conceivable that many independents would be appointed instead of regular party men and, if this should come to pass, it could very well lead to the breakdown of the entire state Republican party machine which had been gradually rebuilt since the searing and ignominious defeat by the Democrats in 1904.⁵ That these fears were not entirely baseless

⁴ *The Sun* (New York), June 2, 1905.

⁵ *The Baltimore Sun*, June 1, 1905, stated: “It is said by his friends that his duties as Secretary of the Navy will by no means prevent his keeping an eye on Maryland politics and perhaps taking an even more potent part in these affairs than before. The chief dread of the local Republicans is that by reason of his closeness to the President Mr. Bonaparte will be constituted by him as the referee in all matters of Federal patronage in Maryland and that his will be the final word taken by the President on all appointments within this State.”

was proved shortly after Bonaparte took office. Ex-Senator McComas of Maryland was a member of the Republican National Committee. In the summer of 1905, he decided to retire and recommended the name of George A. Pearre, Republican Congressman from Maryland, to Bonaparte as a likely nominee for the vacant position. The stand that Bonaparte was forced to take was touchy since the party conservatives like McComas were the strong men in the party. On the other hand, no one except McComas and, said Bonaparte, "I suppose Mr. Pearre, recommended the appointment very strongly. Cortelyou, Republican National Chairman, himself stated that while I have high regard for Mr. Pearre, I doubt very much the advisability of appointing him to the place."⁶ The other members of the governing council of the party, and by far the majority, recommended a man named Williams. Bonaparte himself felt that the latter appointment was the best, but despite his personal feeling he was determined to present both names to the National Committee Chairman. Cortelyou was not insensible to Bonaparte's predicament. It was evident also that the latter's recommendation would have great influence in the final appointment.⁷ After the two men had discussed the situation further, it was decided not to antagonize the majority of the party in order to favor a minority, and Williams was appointed to the position.

The affair had served to highlight two facts: first, Bonaparte was very definitely back "in" the Republican ranks and also very much a party chieftain in the councils of the Maryland mighty which decided strategy and appointments. Witness the fact that both sides presented their recommendations to him for transmittal to Cortelyou; and, secondly, that Bonaparte was clearly in charge of the federal patronage in Maryland and perhaps a great deal more. Thus, coincidental with his assumption of his cabinet post, Bonaparte moved to the hierarchy of the Republican party in

⁶ Bonaparte to George Cortelyou, July 10, 1905, in Charles J. Bonaparte Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 162, cited hereafter as Bonaparte Papers, LC; and Cortelyou to Bonaparte, July 10, 1905, in Patterson-Bonaparte Papers (Md. Hist. Soc.). Cited hereafter as Patterson-Bonaparte Papers.

⁷ Cortelyou to Bonaparte, July 3, 1905, *ibid.*: "I fully agree with you as to the necessity of exercising great care in the selection and shall certainly not make any appointment until I have gone over the whole matter with you. . . ."

Maryland. Within a short time, he was so busy with this involvement that he was forced to forego speaking engagements throughout the country. As he told Roosevelt, "the demands on my time, arising from the political situation in Maryland, will leave me no leisure to properly prepare . . . addresses."⁸ Unquestionably, as he wrote this he was considering the fight he must wage against the Poe Amendment, a fight which would occupy whatever time he could spare from his official duties as Secretary of the Navy.

The Negro in the early years of the present century found himself in a position similar to that of a Roman Catholic immigrant to America in the nineteenth century. As the Catholic had been criticized for not being "American" because he believed in a different religion, worshipped his God in a different manner, and, in many cases, spoke a foreign language, so to did the Negro suffer from like handicaps as well as one more—the color of his skin. Bonaparte was a Southerner, bred in the Southern tradition, yet for years he occupied himself with the fight against Negro disfranchisement in his state. Many times he had been called the spokesman for the Negro in America and called this by the Negroes themselves as a token of their esteem for him. He had great respect for the race, he often said, because it was an undeniable fact that the Negro people were the only ones ever able to live with whites, both races increasing and prospering on a large scale. In a speech entitled "The Future of the Negro Race in America"⁹ he points out that the American Negro, transported to a strange country by slave drovers, was admirable for learning to live in peace with the whites, neither seeking the destruction or supplanting of the Caucasian nor provoking violence.

Bonaparte was opposed to segregation because he felt that to exclude the Negroes from the white people "whether by law or natural causes, cuts them off at the same time from the only real and certain sense of improvement to themselves."¹⁰ Thus, to segregate the Negro was to condemn him to a life which would remain stationary and outside the fold of American happiness. To integrate them assured that the Negro would contrive to

⁸ Bonaparte to Roosevelt, August 25, 1905, *ibid.*

⁹ Charles J. Bonaparte, "The Future of the Negro Race in America" (Address delivered in Washington, D. C., in 1906), Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 216.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

assimilate himself into American society while perpetuating his racial existence. Bonaparte thought it was a just and legitimate goal of the Negro to be an American like all others and to be free.

Despite its humanitarian and liberal appeal, Bonaparte was severely criticized for his "Future of the Negro Race in America." Sensibilities were shocked by his well-intentioned but clumsy and unfortunate analogy of the Negro to the brown rat. The brown, ship-borne rat, introduced into all countries, invariably eliminated the native variety with his viciousness and cunning. The Negro had never tried to eliminate the Caucasian. Of this comparison Bonaparte's opponents could make political capital.

Yet he was sincerely interested in the welfare of the Negro, and he fought constantly to ensure him his rights. He had no patience with what he regarded as unintelligent prejudice against the Negro:

It seems that the odious and alarming spectacle of uncle Rastus on July evenings taking the air on his doorstep, while the pickaninnies play contentedly in the gutter, has now become maddening to the noble Caucasian hoodlum; that to keep the peace and preserve the public order, we must imitate Russia and revive customs of mediaeval [*sic*] Europe by setting up, not one Ghetto, but many of them, so as to isolate the homes of a class of people, who nevertheless live in our houses, cook our food and care for our children without anybody's suffering any injury or anybody's seeing anything wrong.¹¹

Just as he fought constantly against the belief that if a man immigrated to the United States from a foreign country he always remained a "German-American" or "French-American" even though he became a citizen of his adopted homeland, so too did Bonaparte fight for the rights of Negroes. He felt that there could be no such thing as a Negro-American, as there could not exist a Chinese-American. A man was either one thing or the other. "We have a country," he said, "and that means only one country. . . . America has ever gladly welcomed . . . to her shores those who would cast her lot in with her children."¹² To those

¹¹ "Charles J. Bonaparte, "More Enlightenment and Less Prejudice," *ibid.* This also appeared as an article in the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore) on February 16, 1911.

¹² Charles J. Bonaparte, "Only One Real Country," (from the response to the toast "Our Country" at the Archbishop Ryan Dinner, in Philadelphia, on April 23, 1908), Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 216.

men who elected to cast their lot with America went citizenship and, thus, they became Americans not in name but in truth—"not half or three fourths or ninety-nine one-hundredths Americans but Americans altogether; not Americans first and some kind of foreigners [or Negroes] afterwards, but Americans first, last, and all the time, and nothing else at all . . ." ¹³



Caricature of Bonaparte during the Poe Amendment battle, probably by McKee Barclay, from *Baltimore News*, Oct. 7, 1905. James O. Adams, a Gormanite, was delegate of Wicomico County.

And so, with these sentiments in his heart, he set out to prove to the people of Maryland that if they adopted the Poe Amendment they would destroy a part of their American heritage. Actually, what became known as the Poe Amendment was "An Act to Amend Section I of Article I of the Constitution of This State [Maryland] and to Provide for the Submission of said

¹³ *Ibid.*

Amendment to the Qualified Voters of this State for Adoption or Rejection.” The introduction to the act simply reaffirmed what Section I already said, to wit: all elections would be by ballot; every male over the age of twenty-one who met the residence requirements, and who also met the voter qualifications as stated in Article I of the state constitution, would be entitled to vote. One important phrase, whose significance was overlooked by the proponents of the amendment until Bonaparte pointed it out, and which will be discussed later, was: “. . . to entitle a person to vote . . . he must have been a resident of that part of the County or City [Baltimore] which shall form a part of the electoral district in which he offers to vote for six months next preceding the election, but a person who shall have acquired a residence in such County or City, entitling him to vote at any such election, shall be entitled to vote in the election district from which he removed until he shall have acquired a residence in the part of the City or County to which he has removed.” The foregoing continued that *a male citizen of the United States* who met these requirements could become a registered voter in the state of Maryland provided he could pass a reading test on the Constitution of the United States given by the officers of registration and give a reasonable explanation on the section given him to read, or, “if unable to read such section is able to understand and give explanation thereof when read to him by the registration officer.” Illiteracy in Maryland was no bar to becoming a registered voter providing a man was the proper color! The second provision of the proposed amendment, a most important section especially when taken in conjunction with the important aspects of the general introduction, as have already been noted stated: “A person who on the first day of January 1869, or prior thereto, was entitled to vote under the laws of this State or of any other State . . . [or] Any male lineal descendant of such last mentioned person who may be twenty-one (21) or over in the year 1906” would be entitled to vote in Maryland.¹⁴

This measure, known as the Poe Amendment, would have dis-

¹⁴ Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 195.

qualified thousands of Negro voters in Maryland—that was its avowed purpose as stated in a pamphlet entitled “Question of Patriotism: Why All *White* Men, Native and Naturalized, Should Vote For The [Poe] Amendment.” This pamphlet admitted that “the only way to disenfranchise the Negro is by circumventing the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, and that . . . necessitates the proposed indirect means. The object of the Fifteenth Amendment in the first place was to jam Negro suffrage down our throats.”¹⁵ However, astonishingly, the authors of the Amendment in their language actually opened the doors of the state of Maryland to Negroes from other states, not qualified to vote in their present places of residence, who wanted to vote. As J. P. Hill, a Baltimore lawyer and close friend of Bonaparte pointed out, the so-called “grandfather clause” of the amendment, which stated that “a person who on the first day of January 1869, or prior thereto, was entitled to vote under the laws of this State or of any other State” or descendants of these early voters, who now wished to vote, could do so in Maryland. Thus, those Negroes who had voted prior to 1869, or whose ancestors had exercised that privilege, could come to Maryland from the “cotton states” (Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, North and South Carolina, and Georgia) and could vote in Maryland. It was well known that these states, as well as Maryland itself, had permitted certain freemen, albeit Negroes, to vote in the early part of the nineteenth century, and now the proposers of the Poe Amendment, who sought to prevent the Negro from exercising his prerogative of suffrage, had reopened the very doors they sought to close! In fact, if the Poe Amendment was adopted, the state would be made politically attractive to many out-of-state Negroes.

To Bonaparte, actively leading the fight against the amendment, the fight was far more than a party fight of Republicans opposing Democrats. It was a struggle to save the constitutional rights of a group of people who could not protect themselves. This posture of Bonaparte might be construed as somewhat anomalous: a

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

gentleman of Maryland defending the rights of the Negro. He knew that under his guidance the Republicans would fight against the proposal for he had assumed firm leadership in that party in the first days after assumption of his cabinet post, but—and this provides an unusual picture of the man—he was unhappy at the possibility that the Democrats might endorse the amendment at their state convention. This, more than anything else, shows the true independent position of Charles Bonaparte. He was not merely trumping up issues on which to differ from the opposition. He was genuinely concerned with the problem of Negro voting privileges, and any kind of a threat against these hard-won rights. Perhaps, instead of stating that this shows the true independent spirit of the man, it would be better to say that this demonstrates his liberal concern over the fate of the United States Constitution. Hence, in this case, Bonaparte is truly lamenting the fact that the Democratic Party, the opposition, might endorse the amendment, the fight against which was the keystone of the Republican state platform. Had he been acting from mere partisan motives, he might have been glad for the Democrats to take the illiberal, and hence vulnerable, side. Surely, this shows a transcending of party lines in the true humanitarian interest. He could even bring himself to write hopefully that “there is, however, a very widespread movement among Democratic voters in the city [Baltimore] and in some of the counties, in opposition to the amendment.”¹⁶

The aim of the Republicans was to persuade such dissident Democratic voters, as well as the Independents, to vote the G.O.P. ticket. To effect this, Bonaparte had to make sure the Republican party did not split into factions, as so frequently had happened in past elections. He wrote to William S. Bryan, State Attorney General and a leader of the Republican party in Maryland, that “the Republican organization is . . . in much better shape than I feared it was going to be. I have headed off a number of factional squabbles, and it seems to be in very good condition for work,” but, he continued, “the real danger is undoubtedly the opportunities for fraud afforded by the so-called ‘Wilson Bill’

¹⁶ Bonaparte to William F. Stone, August 11, 1905, *ibid.*, Box 174. William F. Stone was the Collector of Customs in the port of Baltimore, Maryland.

to unscrupulous supervisors of elections,¹⁷ and I have reason to think that more reliance is placed on this resource than on any other by those who desire to secure adoption of the [Poe] amendment."¹⁸ He also showed concern over the report that the Prohibitionist party might endorse the amendment. If this should happen, he feared that a great many otherwise impartial voters would be swayed to vote for the Poe Amendment. Such an endorsement, if actually made, would then turn the entire force of the Prohibitionists and independent Democrats against the Republicans, thus ensuring prompt adoption of the amendment.¹⁹

As for the Negroes themselves, how did they feel about the Poe Amendment? One proposed what later became the Miller Plan, which required Negroes to hold meetings at which they would pass "self-denying ordinances." These ordinances would ask the Republican party not to appoint Negroes to office while prejudice still existed against the colored people. Bonaparte feared, and with just cause, that if his party did this, the Democratic party would accuse their rivals of prejudice, transparently veiled in exclusion ordinances. The Negroes in 1905 usually voted with the Democrats—not because they wanted to in many instances, but frequently because of pressures and threats. In 1905, Bonaparte felt that more and more of them were trying to break away from this political stranglehold, and he feared that the adoption of the Miller Plan would only force them back to the Democrats. As he wrote to William B. Miller, "All of them [members of a meeting held at his office to discuss the Plan] . . . agreed that, if the party placed itself on record on this issue, it must be so squarely to the contrary effect of what you advise, and all were in like accord in holding that it was unnecessary,

¹⁷ A bill passed in 1903 which, it was asserted, permitted fraudulent elections through careless handling of the ballots.

¹⁸ Bonaparte to William S. Bryan, August 11, 1905, *ibid.* Bonaparte was an old foe of fraudulent election supervisors; in 1904, he himself stood guard at an election post to see that the supervisor there performed his duty impartially.

¹⁹ Bonaparte to W. C. Atwood, August 18, 1905, *ibid.*, Box 162: "I have every reason to believe that many Democrats are at present uncertain how they will vote on the Amendment; their strong prejudices against negroes and Republicans and their habit of always voting the 'straight ticket' weighing about equally in the balance as against the promptings of their reason and conscience on this question. If the Amendment shall receive the endorsement of a body apparently impartial and made up of men individually estimable and respected, this may turn the scale in the case of a good many, who will have an excuse to give their own sense of right for blindly following the dictates of prejudice and party spirit. . . ."

inexpedient and improper for the platform to contain any utterance on the subject.”²⁰

Bonaparte regarded the Poe Amendment as the only true issue of the campaign in Maryland. He did not fear that it would be accepted provided the question could be decided by a fair vote. “Nevertheless,” he wrote, “I consider the situation decidedly critical, and one demanding the earnest and hearty co-operation of all those interested in the perpetuation of free institutions in Maryland to defeat the present conspiracy against them.”²¹ All his time and resources were thrown into the fight. He organized citizen’s protest meetings. Determined not to make the issue a mere party fight, Bonaparte also solicited the votes of the Independents and some disgruntled Democrats. He decided that it would be well to have the first protest meeting called not by the Republicans but by the Independents, for this would serve to prove to the voting populace that it was not a mere party-against-party struggle but one which appealed to the consciences of all voters regardless of party affiliation. His strategem also included having Democrats of known party standing make as many speeches as possible against the amendment in order to influence the uncommitted voters.²² The Democrats, for their part, went outside of the state to enlist help in favor of the discriminatory proposal. They called on Governor Vardaman of Mississippi to make speeches throughout the state on the horrors of atrocities committed by Negroes, a frank appeal to racial prejudice and bound to attract some voters, inasmuch as Maryland was a border state and, for its people, the Civil War was all too fresh a memory.²³ Such a policy on the part of the Democratic party was nothing new in the political campaigns in Maryland. As Bonaparte said in a press release:

²⁰ Bonaparte to William B. Miller, August 17, 1905, *ibid.*

²¹ Bonaparte to Congressman George A. Pearre, September 22, 1905, *ibid.* Congressman Pearre was a Representative from Cumberland, Maryland.

²² Bonaparte to Charles Morris Howard, September 29, 1905, *ibid.* The first meeting was held in a small hall in Baltimore and run entirely by Independents and Democrats.

²³ Bonaparte to Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, September 29, 1905, *ibid.*; also Bonaparte to John B. Hanna, September 29, 1905, *ibid.* Steiner was the Head Librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore. John B. Hanna was Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in Maryland. The vote for the amendment could be expected to be concentrated in the southern counties and the eastern shore sections of Maryland. Baltimore and points north could reasonably be expected to vote against it.

In the campaign now in progress in Maryland, the Democratic "ring" relies for success, as it has relied for success in many campaigns during the past thirty-five years, upon appeals to racial prejudice. To inflame this prejudice, it has frequently circulated and it circulates now many utterly false and indeed ridiculous stories as to what the Republican party would or might do, if entrusted with power by the voters. While these falsehoods are not only absurd in themselves, but conclusively refuted by experience during the four years of Republican supremacy in the State, while the late Lloyd Lowndes was Governor from 1896 to 1900, they have undoubted weight with a certain class of voters, of whom some are very ignorant and others are intensely prejudiced on this question as to be almost beyond the influence of reason.²⁴

Bonaparte still believed, however, that it would be the internecine warfare between the Democrats which would cause the defeat of the Democratic-induced Poe Amendment. He constantly advised Republicans to take a back seat in this intra-party dispute and, by and large, they did so.

Thoroughly grounded in constitutional law and believing wholeheartedly in its application he said:

The Constitution of 1867 [Maryland] restricted the suffrage to white male citizens. The word "white" has been omitted, however, in all printed copies of the Constitution since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Colored men in Maryland began to vote, therefore, as a result of the adoption of that Constitutional Amendment, but in some seven or eight of the Southern States . . . they had already obtained that right of suffrage under the Constitutions established there by the reconstructed state government . . . there is one matter which has been overlooked in this connection and that is that colored men voted in Maryland, under certain conditions, in the early part of the last century. They were disfranchised by an Amendment to the [Maryland] Constitution adopted, if I am not mistaken, in 1808. . . . Of course, it is not the intention of the Amendment to confer right of suffrage, without examination, upon their descendants, but it may be worthwhile . . . to point out the possibility that this may be effected. There is no doubt of one fact, and that is if we could believe that the

²⁴ Bonaparte to the Washington News Syndicate, September 30, 1905, *ibid.* The Washington News Syndicate was a group of correspondents representing Negro newspapers. He continued: "Some of the preposterous tales are to the effect that a Republican legislature would compel by law certain forms of social intercourse between the two races, as, for example, by establishing compulsory attendance at mixed public schools or obliging white children to be taught by a colored teacher. Others hold out the alarming prospect that a Republican governor or Mayor would appoint a vast multitude of colored officials with no regard to fitness or expediency to all sorts of public positions. . . ."

Amendment would be enforced in good faith, it would have precisely the opposite effect to that which is claimed for it by its supporters. . . .²⁵

Bonaparte was quick to seize upon the fallacy of the amendment and to use it as an *ad hominem* argument. He turned the anti-Negro bias against itself by, in effect, saying to those who would vote for the Poe Amendment, "The passage of the amendment would be bad for our state on two counts: it would disfranchise some Negroes—and that is unjust to them; and it would enfranchise other Negro citizens—and that is distasteful to you!"

Many Democratic candidates had come out openly against the amendment and just as many civic organizations who normally voted the Republican ticket now wanted to endorse these renegade Democratic hopefuls. The danger was that by these inter- and intra-party endorsements the Democratic party as a whole would receive a plurality of votes in the election. To guard against this, Bonaparte warned the Republican party not to endorse the renegade Democrats, even though Republican sympathies might lie with them. "I think it is of great importance that the Reform League, of which Bonaparte was a leading light, and the independent Democrats should not be put in the attitude of endorsing the Democratic candidates." He suggested that any meeting of these Democrats be addressed not by the Reform League members nor by Republicans but by other members of the Democratic party who felt "correctly" about the Poe Amendment.²⁶

The attention he was devoting to the campaign in Maryland began to take its physical toll. Toward the end of October he was complaining of a cold, and his throat was sore from his many speeches.²⁷ Work at the Navy Department was also suffering. He had spent many days speaking in Baltimore and in other cities of the state. In many instances, letters written by Bonaparte spoke of his intention to come to Washington only on cabinet days. More and more, during the last days of the campaign he asked his Navy Department confidential secretary, Henry C. Gauss, to send anything of importance to his office in Baltimore so that he would not have to appear in Washington. Truly, he was giving

²⁵ Bonaparte to Finley C. Hendrickson, October 27, 1905, *ibid.*, Box 175.

²⁶ Bonaparte to Charles Morris Howard, October 27, 1905, *ibid.*

²⁷ Bonaparte to John B. Hanna, November 1, 1905, *ibid.*

the campaign against the Poe Amendment almost his undivided attention.

Perhaps had he failed in his fight against the amendment, harmful though that may have been to the Negro voters of the state, its effect would have been beneficial in that Bonaparte might have been thrown more onto the national scene. The failure in Maryland would have forced his attention to national politics as he sought solace for his defeat in his state. However, this was not to happen, because the amendment was defeated. Bonaparte emerged more strongly than ever as kingpin in Maryland politics and was already girding himself for the next state election. Theodore Roosevelt was proud of the victory of the Republicans in Maryland, and he wrote to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, "Bonaparte has led the Republicans to an important victory in Maryland."²⁸ Unquestionably, Roosevelt was so pleased because the victory in Maryland marked the complete revitalization of the Republican party in that state. This would mean added votes for the continuance of the Administration's policies in 1908. Thus, he felt he owed a great deal to Bonaparte. The Honorable Morris A. Soper of Baltimore is of the opinion that Bonaparte was not a "party leader" or "boss" in the usual sense of those terms.²⁹ If this is the case, Bonaparte cannot be said to have led the Maryland Republican party to its revitalization in 1905. However this may be, it cannot be denied that he placed in sharp focus the broad issues and was prominent in achieving the intellectual revamping of the party, even though he was not a "politician" in the truest sense of the word.

Although it went down to defeat at the polls in 1905, the constitutional amendment did not remain dead. In 1908, the Strauss Amendment was proposed and its function would have been much the same as that of the defeated Poe Amendment. The Strauss Amendment would come before the voters in the 1909 state election and once again Bonaparte led the fight against it. If anything, he was more concerned about the issue than he had been in 1905. He felt that the proposed amendment was not only a threat to Negro suffrage but it also had been devised "by astute

²⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, November 8, 1905, in Theodore Roosevelt Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 151; also George Cortelyou to Bonaparte in Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 122.

²⁹ Author's interview with Honorable Morris A. Soper, October 31, 1958.

and unscrupulous men to perpetuate their own control of the Democratic party, and the control of the State, nominally by that party, but really by themselves.”³⁰ He warned that these men had gained control of their party and were threatening to control the entire state by frauds at the polls and by defective election laws. He predicted that the amendment and the nefarious plan behind it could be defeated only by the hearty cooperation of all Maryland Republicans and those Democrats who would rise above party prejudice to vote the Republican ticket.³¹ The appeal of the amendment to racial prejudice certainly angered Bonaparte. In addition to this, however, the thought inherent in its provisions that the right to vote was a hereditary privilege and not a democratic one revolted him. He felt that any proposal such as this was unrepugnant and undemocratic. He felt that its adoption would make Maryland a one-party state and destroy the Independent vote entirely. The Democratic party would then control Maryland politics. “It would have been as odious to the author of the Declaration of Independence as to the liberator of the slave,” he stressed, “and we may hope that the true disciples [*sic*] of Jefferson will be found side by side with the disciples [*sic*] of Lincoln in repudiating a measure condemned by the doctrine of both.”³²

Using every means at his disposal in order to secure defeat of the Strauss Amendment, Bonaparte wrote to President-elect William Howard Taft late in 1908. He was disturbed, he told Taft, by one of the latter’s campaign speeches which had been quoted in a Maryland newspaper and which led voters to believe that Taft favored disenfranchisement of Negroes. Bonaparte realized quite well from his own experience that newspapers did not always quote well-known personages accurately, but, he told Taft, although he did not know whether the latter was disposed to write a letter stating his views against the amendment, it was “undoubtedly a most unjust [amendment], a plain evasion of the Federal Constitution, and destined, if adopted to make Maryland a one-party state.”³³ He knew that Taft, as a former judge,

³⁰ Bonaparte to William F. Stone, December 15, 1908, *ibid.*, Box 185.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Bonaparte to William Howard Taft, December 15, 1908, *ibid.*

would pause to inspect the amendment carefully because of the allegation that it violated the Constitution. Taft immediately wrote to William F. Stone, who was handling the fight against the amendment while Bonaparte remained in the background, stating that the newspapers had misquoted or misunderstood a North Carolina speech which had led them to allege that he favored disenfranchisement. "The whole law ought to be condemned. It is not drawn in the spirit of justice and equality having regard for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and I sincerely hope that no Republican and no Democratic who desires equality of treatment to the black and white races will vote for it."³⁴ To Bonaparte he wrote that he thought the constitutional amendment proposed in Maryland was "one of the most viciously constructed laws I ever saw, and I have the pleasure in writing a letter condemning it."³⁵ People all over the country flocked to Bonaparte's side in his fight against the amendment. One Louisianan reviewed for him the history of the disenfranchisement amendments within that state. "We Republicans of Louisiana have had such a bitter experience in this matter that we can speak with assurance on the subject. With us it has meant, not only the disfranchisement of the colored voter, but the disfranchisement of the Republican voter, white and black, and the enfranchisement of the Democratic voter, no matter how ignorant, venal and corrupt he might be."³⁶ This is what Bonaparte feared would happen in Maryland. He was as much disturbed over the loss of Negroes' voting rights as over the threat of a one-party system

³⁴ William Howard Taft to William F. Stone, December 22, 1908, in The William Howard Taft Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Letterpress 13. Taft pointed out: "The provision that the first class of eligible voters shall be those persons who on the first day of January in the year 1869, or prior thereto, were entitled to vote under the laws of Maryland or any other State . . . wherein they resided, and that the male descendants of such persons, as a second class, shall be entitled to vote, was intended to exempt the persons thus made eligible from the educational and property qualifications which follow in the descriptions. . . ."

"Now we know the first four classes include no negroes at all. In other words, it is intended to free the whites from educational and property qualifications, but to subject all negroes to them."

³⁵ William Howard Taft to Bonaparte, December 22, 1908, *ibid.* Bonaparte answered that he was "very glad to see that you take the stand you do respecting our proposed constitutional amendment. It is clearly unjust to negroes and in my opinion a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment." (C. J. Bonaparte to William Howard Taft, December 28, 1908, in Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 185.)

³⁶ C. S. Herbert to Bonaparte, January 27, 1908, Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 129.

in Maryland. But he was not unaware of the threat to the Republican party. As his Louisiana correspondent had said, in Louisiana a primary election law had been enacted "providing that all party candidates must be nominated by primary, and giving the State Central Committee the right to exclude negroes from party primaries. The result is now that the Democratic party, in which all officers from Governor to Constable are nominated, and in which only white Democrats participate, is the real election, while the General Election is a formality."³⁷ A Negro wrote to Bonaparte congratulating him on his stand, telling him that his views were so much in accord "with the settled principles of both religion and liberty that I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude to you for their utterance."³⁸ Another Negro boldly declared that "not since the time of Roscoe Conkling" at whose name Bonaparte, a fervent believer in civil service reform, must have shivered, "has a public man of such high character, exalted position and transcendent ability had the courage to point the Republican party to the high duty it owes itself, the nation and the Negro."³⁹

The danger of a one-party system in Maryland and the disenfranchisement of Negroes would not be the only result if the amendment were adopted. Bonaparte was emphatic in his declaration that its adoption would end all reform organizations in Maryland because "there really will be no further hope for them to accomplish anything practical for an indefinite time."⁴⁰ Certainly if the "Ring" should be revived with the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment, his fear that there would no longer be any opportunity for the Civil Service Reform League was justified. There would be no call for reform because the Democratic party would control state politics to such an extent that there could be no redress in political wrongs. This is not to say that all Democrats in Maryland were politically corrupt. Even Bonaparte could not make such a statement. But the political bosses, the old Gorman "Ring" as it was called, had, like Tammany Hall in New York, the reputation for political intrigue

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ L. M. Henshaw to Bonaparte, February 13, 1908, *ibid.*

³⁹ [Sgt?] B. McKay to Bonaparte, February 23, 1908, *ibid.*, Box 130.

⁴⁰ Bonaparte to Elliott C. Goodwin, May 24, 1909, *ibid.*, Box 164. Goodwin was executive secretary of the Civil Service Reform League.

and corruption as well as illicit practices at the polls. This is what Bonaparte had in mind when he told Elliott Goodwin, a close friend who was influential in the Civil Service Reform League, that if the Democrats got back in control, there would be no further need of reform parties in the state because, although reform would always be needed, it would be impossible until the voters could be reeducated. As he told Elihu Root, there was every chance of victory for the Strauss Amendment because "our Election Laws have been so tampered with during the last seven or eight years that ample opportunities have been created for frauds in certain portions of the State, and there is a very serious danger that this amendment may be foisted upon us, partly through the efforts of race prejudice and partly through the artifices of unscrupulous political intriguers with the connivance of partisan supervisors of elections."⁴¹

Bonaparte planned the advertising campaign against the amendment with great care. He suggested that literature—"a reasonable supply"—in English be printed for distribution at the headquarters of the Committee Against the Disfranchisement Amendment. He did not think it necessary to provide this literature in other languages because non-English speaking people were unlikely to attend their meetings. Also, he wanted literature distributed from house to house, but not in the entire city. Such handbills would be wasted in the business districts, and in the Negro sections, he felt, and in the Irish wards and predominantly Catholic sections it would be sufficient to distribute only Cardinal Gibbons' statement against the amendment. He suggested that a certain amount of space in friendly (Republican and Independent) newspapers should be filled up "with carefully prepared matter arranged for that special purpose."⁴²

His direction of the campaign against the Strauss Amendment bore fruitful results. On November 3, just one day after the election, he was able to write his former secretary in the Department of Justice—for by now he had retired from public life with the close of the Roosevelt term of office in March 1909—that although the votes were still coming in, it appeared that the

⁴¹ Bonaparte to Elihu Root, September 6, 1909, *ibid.* Root was at this time Governor of New York.

⁴² Bonaparte to David H. Carroll, October 15, 1909, *ibid.* Carroll was president of the Citizens Association opposed to the disfranchisement movement.

amendment had been defeated. "This has been the result of a very hard fight against great odds, for I have no doubt that from 20,000 to 30,000 Republican votes, at least, have been lost through 'fake tickets,' 'fake ballots' and other frauds of Election Supervisors . . . The silly optimism of many Republicans was one of the most dangerous features in the situation."⁴³

Direction was not all he had given to the campaign. He had also backed it financially. But his rewards were great. He had not transferred political power from the Democrats to the Republicans, but he had dealt damaging blows to Bossism in Maryland which had nurtured itself on prejudice. And in this he had achieved significant victories for the Constitution he so admired, and for democratic freedom he so much loved.

⁴³ Bonaparte to Henry C. Gauss, November 3, 1909, *ibid.*

SOME BALTIMORE CITY PLACE NAMES:

HUNTINGTON OR HUNTINGDON, THE TWO LILIENDALES AND SUMWALT RUN

(Continued from Vol. LIV, No. 1 March, 1959)

By WILLIAM B. MARYE ¹

*The helpless landscape dies
Of brutal hands laid on it
By greedy men that scorn it.
'Tis murder'd where it lies.*

HUNTINGTON Avenue, which runs northwest from Twenty-fifth Street (formerly called Huntington or Huntingdon Avenue), west of Oak Street (now Howard); Saint John's Episcopal Church Huntingdon, which stands in its extensive grounds on the eastern side of the York Road, a short distance below Thirtieth Street; and Huntingdon Baptist Church, Thirtieth and Barclay Streets—these still surviving names serve to remind us of one of a limited number of land-grants of the seventeenth century upon which Baltimore City now stands: "Huntington."

"Huntington," 135 acres, was laid out for Tobias Starnboro (*sic*), June 29th, 1688. Its northwestern boundary coincides with the southeastern bounds of a tract of land surveyed five days earlier, "Merryman's Lott," of which Homewood is a part.² The description of these two land-grants affords a clue to an aspect of the wilderness which once lay therein or thereabouts. Such clues are very rare. The fourth line of "Huntington" and the fourth

¹ For further commentary, and corrections of Mr. Marye's previous article, see Notes and Queries of this issue.—*Editor*.

² Patent Records for Land, Liber 22, f. 438 and 440, Land Office of Maryland. Tobias Starnboro was the founder of the Stansbury family. "The Stansbury Family," by Christopher Johnston, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IX (March, 1914), 72-88. His parents were, respectively, Detmar and Renske Sternberg. Though they had a German name, Dr. Johnston thought they came from the Low Countries.

line of "Merryman's Lott" run north-east, each sixty perches "into the barrens." The ends of these lines, two separate boundaries in the barrens, are situated, respectively, in modern terms, on or near Melville Avenue east of Frisby Street near the Stadium and at or near Lambeth Road and Greenway, Guilford, and are distant a little over $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a mile from one another. Undoubtedly, a tract of "barrens" stretched between these points.

It is certainly a significant fact that late in the seventeenth century much land in what is now Guilford remained "vacant." For example, "Cox's Paradise," 46 acres, was surveyed for James Cox, June 16, 1772. The certificate of survey calls for "Merryman's Lott."³ "Garrittson's Meadows," 52 acres, surveyed for "Joe" (Job) Garrittson, October 4, 1769, lies along the northern limits of the Guilford area, in Guilford.⁴ Far more significant is the case of "Sheredine's Discovery," a vast tract of land, containing 1900 acres, surveyed for William Chetwynd and Company (The Principio Company), 5 April 1743, and hitherto all vacant land.⁵ "Sheredine's Discovery" occupies part of the eastern side of Guilford, but by far the greater part of it lies east of the York Road. These lands, which remained vacant so long, were undoubtedly deemed to be of very inferior quality (they were certainly not overlooked) from an agricultural point of view. (The Principio Company was interested, of course, in iron deposits and wood for charcoal.) In my opinion they partook of the nature of "barrens," and were, in fact, a part of the "barrens" cited in the certificates of survey of "Huntington" and of "Merryman's Lott," (1688). These barrens are not to be confused with the great barrens, which lay many miles to the westward.

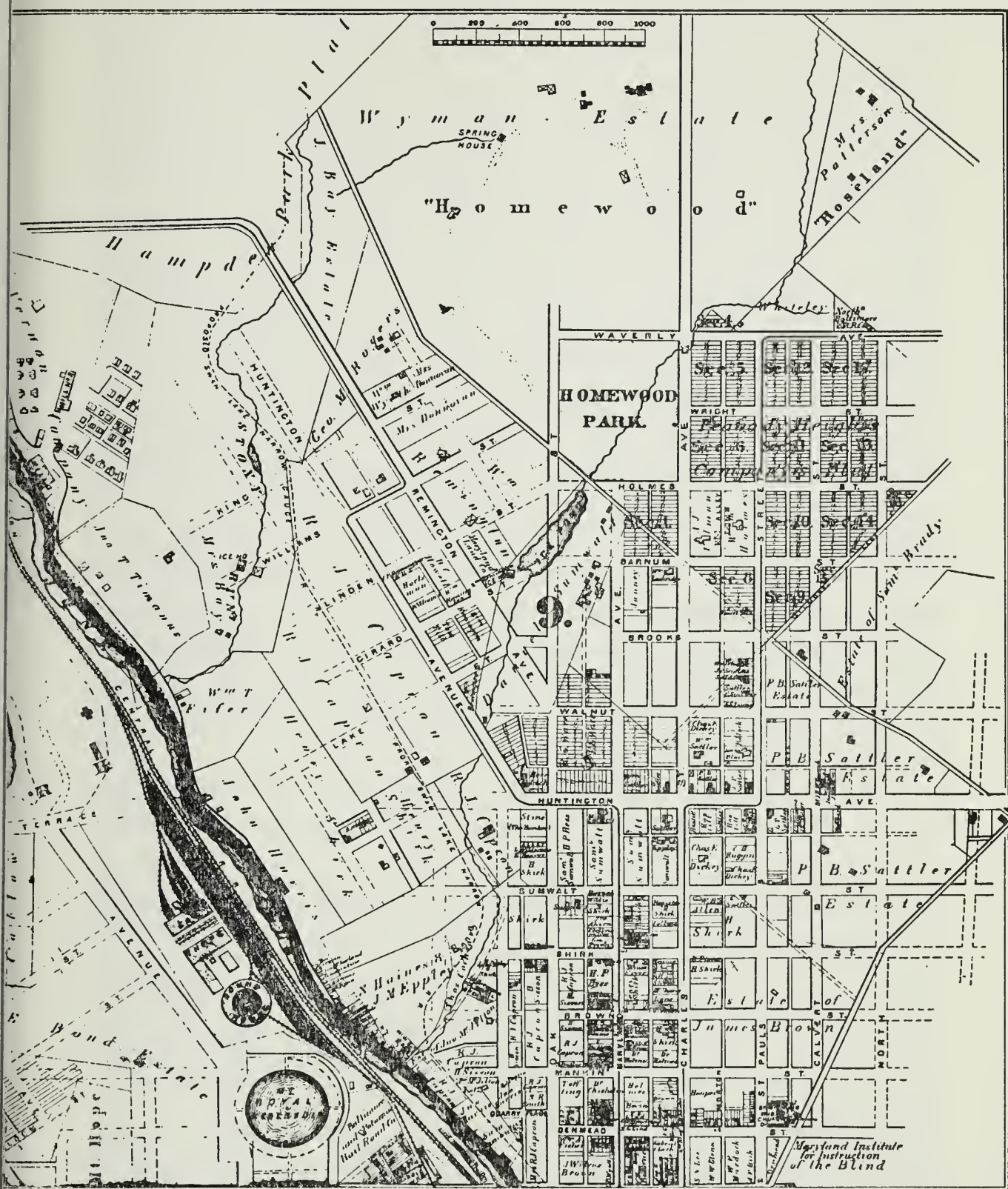
The original "Huntington," as distinguished from a later and much larger tract of land of the same name, in which it was included, is divided into nearly equal parts by Merryman's Lane, now University Parkway. The second "Huntington" was surveyed for John and Achsah (Ridgely) Carnan, September 29th, 1757, and contained 475 acres.⁶ It was a resurvey on the original

³ Patented Certificate No. 1250, Baltimore County, Land Office.

⁴ Patent Records for Land, Liber B C and G S No. 39, f. 172, Land Office.

⁵ Patented Certificate No. 4427, Baltimore County.

⁶ Patented Certificate No. 2452, Baltimore County. Mr. and Mrs. Carnan were the parents of Charles Ridgely Carnan, who assumed the name and arms of Ridgely and inherited the now famous Hampton estate and mansion.



From G. M. Hopkins, *City Atlas of Baltimore and Environs* (1876) Plate R.

"Huntington," on "Edwards Lott,"⁷ "Wilkinson's Folly,"⁸ and "Edwards Enlargement."⁹ This resurvey takes in a section of North Avenue between St. Paul and Calvert Streets, and extends southwards over Jones' Falls to Charles and Oliver Streets or thereabouts, and at its northern end includes a part of Guilford.¹⁰

About the middle of the last century Huntington became Huntingdon. On Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore* (1857) the James Wilson estate (part of "Huntington") is designated as "Huntingdon." On G. M. Hopkins's *Atlas of Baltimore City and Environs* (1876), Volume 1, Plate Q, we find "Huntingdon" Avenue, while on Plate R of the same volume it is "Huntington" Avenue. The names of the two "Huntingdon" churches have long been spelt that way.

In the year 1790 Harry Dorsey Gough, (1745-1808), that wealthy gentleman, proprietor of the Perry Hall estate, purchased "Huntington" of Thomas Bond Onion.¹¹ No doubt he was speculating on the rapid growth of Baltimore. In due course he laid out parts of this estate in lots. In the *Federal Gazette* of May 3, 1799, Gough advertised for sale parts of "Huntington," situated from one to one and a half miles from Baltimore, adjoining the seats of Hugh Thompson and James Edwards, esquires, (a little above the intersection of York Road and Twenty-fifth Street), Dr. [Anthony] Mann "and others."

Anthony Mann, in spite of his name, which is anything but French, was a Frenchman, a native of Marseilles. He died at

⁷ "Edwards Lott," surveyed for Moses Edwards, Jan. 10, 1701, bounds on "Merryman's Lott" and on "Wilkinson's Folly." Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber C D, f. 165.

⁸ "Wilkinson's Folly" was surveyed for William Wilkinson, July 2, 1688. Patent Records for Land, Liber 22, f. 438. The survey calls for "Huntington" and for "Merryman's Lott."

⁹ "Edwards Enlargement," surveyed for Moses Edwards, Oct. 18, 1707, adjoins "Edwards Lott." Baltimore County Rent Roll. Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society, No. 883, f. 249. Its beginning place is about 35 perches west of the York Road.

¹⁰ The resurvey of "Huntington" is bounded by "Ensor's Inspection," "Merryman's Lott," "Sheredine's Discovery," above mentioned; "Salisbury Plains," "Mount Royal," "Hanson's Wood Lott," and "Darley Hall." It is worthy of mention that a two-acre lot belonging to the vestry of Saint Paul's parish was omitted in the resurvey on "Huntington," as prescribed in the record.

¹¹ Liber W. G. No. E. E., f. 167, Baltimore County: Thomas B. Onion to Harry D. Gough, part of "Huntington," 476 acres. In 1792 Lavalin Barry surrendered to Harry Dorsey Gough part of "Huntington," being Lots No. 59, 76 and 77. Liber W. G. No. J. J., f. 4, Baltimore County.

his seat near Baltimore, September 14, 1823, in his sixty-third year.¹² He came to America during the Revolution and served as a surgeon aboard a letter of marque vessel. He practiced the art and mystery of an apothecary in Baltimore Town, at the Sign of the Brass Mortar, Light Lane and Market Street, a slight come-down from his doubtless honorable and exciting career in the American service. Dr. Mann's house is described about 1800 as a new "elegant two story brick dwelling 50 by 26 [feet] near Rutter's mill." Adjacent to this mansion stood a one story brick gardener's house 14 x 10 feet.¹³ Here, we may well imagine, the gallant *meridional* entertained his friends in style. Dr. Mann's mansion stood across the site of Hunter Alley, between Calvert Street and North Street (now Guilford Avenue), and between North Avenue and Townsend Street (Lafayette Avenue), but nearer to the latter. After Dr. Mann's death it was occupied (until the land was "developed") by a family named Cooke.¹⁴ The farm on which the mansion stood was part of "Haile's Fellowship."

In order to "develop" his property Gough laid out roads.¹⁵ One of these roads, as I remarked in my preceding article, the later Gilmor or Vineyard Lane, for a time bore his name.¹⁶ A small section of it near the York Road is still in use. Upon Gough's death, a considerable part of "Huntington" remained unsold, and was passed on to his family.¹⁷

The subdivision of "Huntington" brought into being a number of country seats, with their attendant small farms and pastures, which were no doubt all lovely in a quiet way, though not exactly pretentious. Among them were Hugh Thompson's (later Holmes')

¹² Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹³ Particular Tax List, Baltimore Co., Lower Patapsco Hundred. Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁴ T. H. Poppleton, *Map of the City of Baltimore*, 1851.

¹⁵ Liber A. W. B. No. 361, f. 134 Baltimore Co.: deed, August 6, 1845, John Mycroft to Philip E. Sadtler, part of "Huntington Resurveyed," "beginning at a stone set up or planted on the southwest side of a private road laid out by Harry Dorsey Gough from the York Turnpike road to the ground of Hugh Thompson and others" for the accommodation of certain lots. This deed calls for "the road leading to Rutter's Mill" (Lanvale Road).

¹⁶ As stated in the previous article, a road going from Stricker's Ford, on Jones's Falls to the York Road, at St. John's Church Huntingdon, was once known as "Harry Dorsey Gough's Road."

¹⁷ Package Plats No. 17, Court House, Baltimore City: James and Charles Ridgely's plat of part of "Huntington," dated January, 1823. Surveyed 1809.

"Liliendale," on Red Lane, Robert Patterson's "Roseland," James Wilson's "Huntingdon," William Gilmore's "The Vineyard," the Sadtler place and Mayor Samuel Brady's estate, which has been mentioned previously under "Brady's Run."

Thompson, a native of Ireland, died in Baltimore, in his 66th year, a Baltimore merchant of 43 years standing.¹⁸ In his will he devised to his wife his "country seat being the land I purchased of Mr. Gough and others."¹⁹ In the Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, ca. 1800, we find the following entry:

Hugh Thompson, Balto., owner and occupant, Lyliendale, an elegantly furnished 2 story dwelling of Brick raised 8 feet 60 by 20 projection 12 by 10 same height," etc. . . . This property formerly owned by Henry Wilmans. 31 acres.

The above mentioned mansion, later the residence of the Holmes family, stood in the area bounded by Holmes Street (now Twenty-eighth street), Saint Paul Street, Barnum Street (Twenty-seventh Street) and Morton Alley.²⁰ James Kearney's "Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and Its Vicinity" (1817), shows the house of Hugh Thompson, situated immediately north of the intersection of Red Lane and Gilmore Lane (neither named). These two old lanes originally intersected one another close to what was to be the corner of Saint Paul and Twenty-seventh Streets.

The curious hybrid name of "Liliendale," which Thompson bestowed on his mansion and estate, was shared at one time with that which is now Homewood, the seat of Johns Hopkins University, and is attributed to Henry Willmans, a native of Bremen. Willmans (1751-1795), a man of distinction, was Third Grand Master of the Masonic Order.²¹ There is a Lilienthal near Bremen, and it is my belief that it was from the name of this town that the name, Liliendale, was derived. In the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Commercial Advertiser* for Jan. 23, 1795, Willmans advertises for sale his country seat, "Liliendale." The place is

¹⁸ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁹ Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 12, f. 308.

²⁰ Hopkins' *Atlas*, 1876, Vol. I, Plate R.

²¹ Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* (1884), I, index.

described as situated "in a genteel neighborhood," and containing about 100 acres of land. Mr. Willmans bought of Charles Carroll of Carrollton 79¾ acres of "Merryman's Lott" in 1794, and the following year 25 acres more.²² To this estate he probably gave its name, "Liliendale." Later in the year 1795 he sold his interest in "Merryman's Lott" (now Homewood), to Messrs. Stephen Casenave and James Walker.²³ In the *Federal Gazette* of February 27, 1796, Messrs. Casenave and Walker offered "Liliendale" for sale. On August 30, 1801, Richard Caton, son-in-law of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, conveyed to Charles Carroll, Jr., only son of the latter, a tract of land containing something over 122 acres, being one-half of "Merryman's Lott," otherwise known as "Liliendale," which he the said Caton purchased of Samuel Moale, trustee for the sale of the estate of Stephen Casenave.²⁴ Such was the origin of the famous Homewood estate, which was then still called "Liliendale," while, at the same time, Mr. Thompson was calling his place by the same name.

The last we hear of Homewood under the name of "Liliendale" is, I believe, in a letter addressed by Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his son, Charles, dated Annapolis, 24th January, 1801, vizt:

The sums already paid by me on account of Liliendale . . . will sink deep into the \$1500 allowed for improvements . . . A house 47 by 25 with other buildings you speak of will cost considerably more than \$12,000 all costly buildings will be so much money sunk; the time cannot be far distant when you will have to sell Liliendale; the expensive house will impede the sale.²⁵

Only six days later in a letter dated January 30 of the same year the father sternly warns his son on the subject of the proposed mansion:

That house with the out houses will I am confident greatly exceed \$10,000, and that is the utmost sum which ought to be laid out in buildings on Homewood.²⁶

The estate is called "Homewood" three times in this letter, and "Liliendale" does not occur at all.

In a letter dated Annapolis, February 12, 1801, the father chided his son again about his grandiose plans:

²² Liber W. G. No. Q. Q., Baltimore County Land Records.

²³ Liber W. G. No. R. R., f. 190, Baltimore County Land Records.

²⁴ Liber W. G. No. 71, f. 111, Baltimore County Land Records.

²⁵ Carroll Letters, Johns Hopkins University Library.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

While you live in Baltimore it will be necessary for the health of your family and for the exercise of your mind and body to have a house on Homewood to retreat to in summer and autumn. I would recommend the repair of the present buildings on that Farm and some additional rooms to make it a comfortable, cool and convenient residence during these seasons.²⁷

If common sense had prevailed and Mr. Carroll's sage advice had been heeded, we should have no Homewood mansion today. The curious thing to me is that the old gentleman did not lay down the law.

Whence comes the name of Homewood? Is it a fancy name? There are several English Homewoods, but we see no connection between any one of them and our Baltimore Homewood. The reason for changing the name of the place from "Liliendale" to something else was probably due to the fact that Mr. Thompson was calling his "elegant" mansion by that name, and neither he nor the mansion could be ignored.²⁸

Robert Patterson's "Roseland" stood on the top of a low hill which fell rather precipitously into the hollow of Sumwalt Run. As I remember the house, it was small, long, low and quaint. The site was a short distance below University Parkway, on the east side of Calvert Street. So much leveling and filling has gone on in this vicinity that it is hard to imagine how it once looked.

"Huntingdon," a farm extensive for a suburban neighborhood, belonged to James Wilson (1775-1851), one of the earlier members of the socially prominent Wilson family of Baltimore. The place stretched from the York Road down to and across Merryman's Lane and across Thirtieth Street (once Waverly Avenue) to Gilmor Lane. To the best of my recollection, the Wilson mansion stood at the intersection of Thirty-third Street and Guilford Avenue, facing south. I recall that when Thirty-third Street was laid out from Charles Street towards the York Road, the old Wilson house was left standing on a high artificial bank on the north side of the new thoroughfare. The author takes this occasion to say that he first became acquainted with this part of the Sumwalt Run valley in 1899, when he was suffering martyrdom

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ In 1945 this author addressed a letter to the late Philip Acosta Carroll, Esq. of Doughoregan Manor, only to learn that Mr. Carroll could throw no light on this subject.

as a "boarder" at the Country School for Boys (now Gilman Country School), at Homewood. In 1899 this valley, from Twenty-ninth Street at the top of the ridge, to Merryman's Lane and beyond, was all open country—lovely country, too. However, in 1900, the block of houses now standing on the west side of St. Paul Street, between Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Streets, was raised. It was the beginning of the end.

The Gilmor-Whiteley mansion, known as "The Vineyard," stood on the north-west side of Vineyard Lane, between 28th and 29th streets, and appears to have been built before 1799. The land on which it stood, 17 acres, part of "Huntington," was conveyed by Harry Dorsey Gough to James W. Thomas in 1792.²⁹ Thomas sold it the following year to one Picard Durando.³⁰ Durando "released" the land to James Waters, in 1794, who made it over to Charles S. P. Want and wife.³¹ The Baltimore County Tax List for Patapsco Lower Hundred, c. 1800, gives the following information about this property:

"Stephen Waunte seat near Walker's from Picard Durando. A 2 story brick dwelling 40 x 16 well finished," etc. "The situation remarkably fine & Purchased from Picard Durando being part of Huntington, 16 acres."

This house stood for about 150 years. The "Wante" house, with its attendant gardens, is shown on Warner and Hanna's map of the city of Baltimore, 1801. William Gilmor (1775-1829), of the distinguished Gilmor family of Baltimore, purchased this property in 1802.³² Among the parties from whom he acquired title was Henry Messonier, attorney for C. P. S. Wante. Here he lived and died. He gave his name to Gilmor's Lane.

After his death "The Vineyard" remained for some years in the possession of his family. Some time between 1852 and 1857 it was acquired by William Stevens Whiteley (1826-1910), son of William Stevens Whiteley, of Dorchester County (1774-1859). Mr. Whiteley married Miss Elizabeth E. Holmes, daughter of John and Ann (Craigie) Holmes, of Philadelphia, Pa. On Robert Taylor's map is shown the residence of W. S. Whiteley, "Vine-

²⁹ Liber W. G. No. I. I., f. 457, Baltimore County Land Records.

³⁰ Liber W. G. No. L. L., f. 90, Baltimore Co. Land Records.

³¹ Liber W. G. No. O. O., f. 55, 109, Baltimore Co. Land Records.

³² Liber W. G. No. 71, f. 477, 483, Baltimore Co. Land Records.

yard," on the north west side of Gilmor Lane (not named). Mr. Whiteley's grandson, this author's kinsman, Mr. Stockett Matthews Whiteley, tells me that his grandfather added the third story to "The Vineyard," and the wings. He says that in his opinion his grandfather also built the greenhouses on the estate. "The Vineyard" was pulled down in 1958.

Southeast of Thompson's "Liliendale," on the other side of Red Lane, and on both sides of Charles Street Extended, lay the show-grounds of the Maryland Agricultural Society, which were bounded on the northwest by the Sumwalt property.³³ A resolution to acquire this land was passed by this society, May 28th, 1851. Between 1851 and 1860 six exhibitions were held there. At the outbreak of the Civil War the Government took over these show grounds for a mustering-in camp, which became known as Camp Bradford.³⁴

Red Lane, which appears to have been one of the old original roads of this section of Baltimore city (unless Mr. Gough had a hand in it, or part of it), is so named in G. W. Bromley's *Atlas of Baltimore County*, 1898. A section of this lane, shown on Bromley's *Atlas* of the city, 1896, is called Sumwalt Lane. It extends from Barclay Street to Gilmor Lane (so named), at Saint Paul and Twenty-seventh Street. On Kearney's "Sketch" we observe the entire course of Red Lane (not named), from the York Road to Merryman's Lane (not named), a short distance east of Stony Run. On this same map is shown, at the intersection of Red Lane and Gilmor Lane, a place plainly marked "Red" [house?]. I do not doubt that it was from this place, whatever it was, that Red Lane took its name. Hopkins' *Atlas* (1876), Plates Q and R, shows us the whole course of Red Lane (not named), from Merryman's Lane to the York Road. From the York Road, at Huntington Avenue (Twenty-fifth Street), to

³³ Isaac Simmons' *Map of the City and Suburbs of Baltimore*, 1853, has "Agricultural Society" in the angle formed by Red Lane (not named) and Gilmor Lane (not named), opposite "Holmes" and adjacent to "Sumwalt." Thomas P. Chiffelle's *Map of the City of Baltimore and Part of Baltimore County*, 1852, has "Md. Agricultural Society Grounds" on the north-west side of Gilmor Lane (not named), adjoining Sadler (*sic*) and W. Holmes. Taylor's map of 1857, cited above, has "Cattle Show Grounds" at the intersection of Charles Street and Gilmor Lane (not named). See also map of Baltimore, by A. E. Rogerson and L. P. Brown, ca. 1854: "State Agricultural Grounds," west of Charles Street, at intersection of Red Lane and Gilmor Lane (neither named).

³⁴ John T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (1881), p. 846.

Holmes Street (now Twenty-ninth Street), between Maryland Avenue and Oak Street (now Howard), the old lane pursued an even course; then curved around Homewood, along the present lines of Wyman Park Drive, to San Martin Drive, running thence along the lines of this road about a hundred yards. From this point to University Parkway, deep in the valley of Stony Run, Red Lane is probably intact even today. That section of the lane in Wyman Park was known in the past century as Mankin's Road. It was so named for Henry Mankin, who had a country estate, "Mount Pleasant," in this valley, extending over to Hampden. The name Mankin's Road, occurs on a Plat of the Hampden Improvement Association Property, 1857. Mankin's Road (or Red Lane) is there shown crossing Stony Run twice. The lower crossing was situated between two ice ponds, lying west of the University grounds, the President's House and Gilman Hall.

Sumwalt Run, from its source to its mouth, is shown on Hopkins' *Atlas*, 1877, at page 52. The mouth of the run, where a polluted stream of water still issues, is shown by Hopkins to be at Jones's Falls and Mankin Street (now Twenty-first Street). Sumwalt Run is called "the first great branch" of Jones's Falls in the certificates of survey of "Merryman's Lott" and "Huntington" (1688). In the certificate of survey of "Edwards Lott," laid out for Moses Edwards, January 10, 1701, and in that of "Addition," surveyed for Nicholas Haile, same day,³⁵ it is called "Edwards his Runn," and by that name, derived from Moses Edwards, it was known for not less than a century and a half. Not accounting for twists, turns and bends, I estimate the length of this stream at one mile and four-fifths. To judge by the fact that it was styled "the first great branch" of Jones's Falls, it would seem that in its primitive state Sumwalt Run was larger than either Spicer's Run or Jenkins' Run, the only possible rivals for the title.

The upper reaches of Sumwalt Run, except for its source, lie within the bounds of "Merryman's Lott"; its middle reaches in "Huntington" and its lower reaches within "Mount Royal." The sources of the run are shown on Hopkins' *Atlas* (1876), Volume 1, Plates Q and R, and on Bromley's *Atlas* (1896), Plate 18. The main source was on the Lowndes estate, "Wyanoke," east of the Old York Road and north of Pen Lucy Avenue. The

³⁵ Patent Records for Land, Liber C. D., f. 396, Land Office of Maryland.

run crossed Merryman's Lane (now University Parkway), east of Saint Paul Street, where it now passes under the grounds of the Carrollton Apartments. A spring, which issued from the side of the hill on which the Cathedral Church of the Incarnation stands, emptied into the run at this point. Sunwalt Run flows beneath the vast and towering Marylander Apartments and underneath the Hopkins Apartments, where it turns towards the west, after receiving the waters of a spring branch³⁶ from the east. There, at Saint Paul and Thirtieth Streets, as I very well remember, stood a steep bank, on the southern side of the run, overgrown with beech trees and very beautiful. West of Charles Street, the hollow or "dell" (as it is somewhat insipidly called), between the Baltimore Museum of Art and Twenty-ninth Street, is the valley of Sunwalt Run, where the stream flows underground. From Twenty-ninth Street to Jones's Falls the valley of Sunwalt Run is covered by a very deep "fill." Sunwalt's Ice Pond, (known to numberless Baltimoreans in its day) was an extensive sheet of water, almost a small lake, which stretched from Holmes Street (Twenty-eighth Street) diagonally to Barnum Street (Twenty-seventh Street) and was fed by the stream. A good map of this pond may be seen in Hopkins' *Atlas*, vol. I, Plate R. The pond at that time lay wholly within the lands of Daniel Sumwalt. This estate, part of "Huntington," was acquired in part by a member of this family, Frederick Sumwalt, in 1844.³⁷ He died, July 8th, 1848, in his eighty first year. Samuel Sumwalt purchased additional land in 1851.³⁸ A most interesting account of Sumwalt's Ice Pond was written by the late B. Latrobe Weston and published in the Baltimore *Evening Sun* of March 11, 1932.³⁹ The ice crop from the pond was harvested and marketed by the Sumwalt Ice Company.

³⁶ I remember this stream. It had its source a short distance north of Merryman's Lane, between Barclay Street and the York Road (Hopkins' *Atlas*, Vol. I, Plate R), and at one time, I believe, watered "The Vineyard" meadow, north of Waverly Avenue or Thirtieth Street. Mr. Stockett Matthews Whiteley tells me that when he was a boy he caught minnows in it.

³⁷ Liber T. K. No. 342, f. 396, Baltimore County Land Records: Charles R. Carroll *et uxor* to Frederick Sumwalt, 25 acres, part of Huntington, June 12, 1844.

³⁸ Liber A. W. B. No. 463, f. 62, Baltimore County Land Records: Charles W. Ridgely, trustee, to Samuel Sumwalt, part of "Huntington," 8¼ acres, adjoining the land conveyed by Charles R. Carroll and wife to Frederick Sumwalt, on 12 June, 1844. Deed dated 29 July, 1851. The land therein conveyed is bounded by "Mount Royal."

³⁹ The author is indebted to Miss Elizabeth Litsinger, of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., for this information.

MARYLAND POPULATION: 1631-1730:

NUMERICAL AND DISTRIBUTIONAL ASPECTS *

By ARTHUR E. KARINEN

IN this study an attempt will be made to trace the numerical and distributional development of Maryland's population from the time of first white settlement in 1631 to the year 1730. Numerically population grew from a few score to a total of 470,000, and distributionally it spread from the small group living on Kent Island to all parts of Maryland.

Information pertaining to population prior to the First Census is at best scanty and somewhat inconsistent. The population information available pertains most frequently only to segments of the population such as: taxables or tithables, prisoners, militia, families and freemen. Other types of information, which at times may be used as indicators of the total population, are the number of houses and assessments from the state and other legislative orders which were based on population. The relationship which exists between any segment of population and the total population may be expected to vary chronologically and spacially. The variabilities have been smoothed and state-wide relationships for certain time periods have been established and used for the conversion of raw segmental data into total population. When multiple segments furnished data for a particular time, they were cross-correlated and relationships modified on the basis of the correlations.

The most numerous data for the pre-census period are those relating to taxable persons, as mentioned in the tax laws. This data has been a major source for this study. However, one must recognize some of their limitations: i. e., under-enumeration and definition. The definition of taxable persons was changed over

* This article is based on Arthur E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631-1840" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1958). Howard Gees of Georgetown University advised on the writing of the introduction.

the years by several Assembly actions, most of which were only modifications in existing definitions to plug loopholes. The lack of contemporary data or discussion of the effects of these changes makes present-day-analysis impossible. But a somewhat more basic alteration was made in the definition in 1676 which should have had an effect of sufficient magnitude to be important to this investigation. In 1676, the base age for taxation of servants and slaves was raised from ten-years-and-above to sixteen-years-and-above. It is estimated that this change caused at least a ten percent change in the ratio of taxables to total population. Inconsistencies and variabilities in the information of individual counties make it impracticable to use different ratios for each county, hence statewide ratios have been computed from a few sets of information for taxable population to total population.

The earliest contemporary population figures which are of sufficient detail to enable the computation of ratios are for the year 1701.¹ These data for taxable and non-taxable population are used to create the ratio between taxable and total population. The taxable population of 12,214 added to the non-taxable population of 20,034, produces a total population of 32,248. When the taxable population of 12,214 is divided into the total population of 32,248 the quotient is 2.6. This is the ratio (2.6:1) between the taxable population and the total population. Once having a ratio all data which lists taxable persons may be converted to total population by multiplying by the ratio i. e. $12,214 \times 2.6$ equals 31,756, which compares favorably with the actual 32,248. Similar data for 1704, 1710, 1712 and 1756 yield ratios of 2.6:1, 2.8:1, 3.0:1 and 3.0:1 respectively. Data from the First Federal Census of 1790 permits calculation of a taxable ratio, requiring an assumption that the approximate ratio of sixteen-years-and-above to below sixteen years of 1:1 for white as well as to Negroes. The 1790 ratio under this assumption is 3.0:1. As the 1790 ratio agrees with the 1712 and 1756 values, it has been used for the period 1712-1790 for conversion of taxable population to total population. With 1701 as a base, it is assumed that the minor changes in the definition of taxables occurring

¹ Letter from Gov. Blakiston, April 8, 1701, which lists the inhabitants of Maryland by counties, with the exception of Baltimore. Md. Arch., Vol. XXV, 255.

after 1676 could have effected the ratio but little, hence 2.6:1 is used as the ratio from 1676-1705. One may expect that prior to 1676, when all slaves and servants were taxed at ten-years-and-above, there were more taxable persons and the ratio smaller. The smallest ratio suggested by any source for the earliest years is 2.0:1. An assumed ten percent change in the value of this ratio would be .2. When the post 1676 ratios of 2.6:1 is decremented by .2 the ratio becomes 2.4:1. This ratio has been used for the pre-1676 period though future analysis may prove it to have been too high. The state-wide ratios for taxable population which have been used are: 1631-1675, 2.4:1; 1676-1705, 2.6:1; 1706-1711, 2.8:1; and 1712-1790, 3.0:1.

Little data are available from which to calculate ratios from house occupancy but where cross-correlations of data were possible these ratios group around the value of 7:1 suggested by Greene and Harrington,² hence this value was used. Similarly, there were few data upon which to base ratio calculations of family size, but the results of the calculations agreed with the ratio of 6:1 indicated by the census of 1790. Of a somewhat different nature are the assessments of various government costs allocated to the counties on a population basis. Thus if the total state population is known, or that of one county, the population of all counties can be calculated, since the percentage that each county has of the state population is indicated by its percentage of the total assessment.

NUMERICAL CHARACTERISTICS 1631-1730

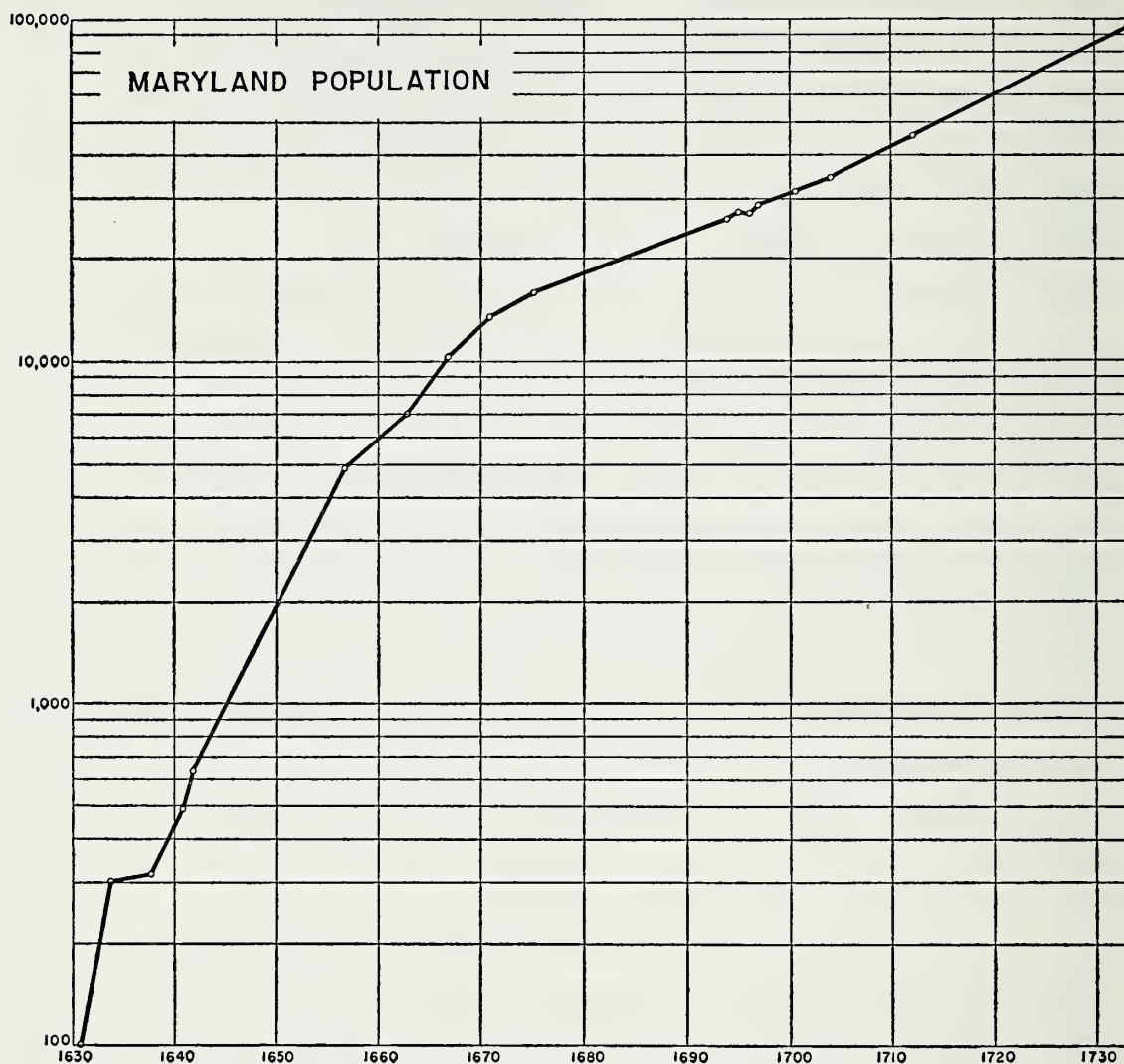
The first white settlement within what constitutes present Maryland was the trading post established on Kent Island by Claiborne in 1631. It is debatable whether it should be considered the initial settlement since its intent was that of a trading post, though one historian states that it had grown to a plantation of about one hundred souls by 1634.³

The settlement of St. Marys in 1634 by the Calverts is considered by many to be the initial settlement. There seems to be

² Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington. *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), p. xxii.

³ Mathew P. Andrews. *History of Maryland, Province and State* (Garden City, 1929), p. 43.

no evidence whereby the exact number of people who accompanied Lord Calvert can be established beyond question, but the figure commonly accepted is 200. The earliest year for which population numbers can be estimated is 1637. These data are contained in the Assembly Proceedings which give the attendance figures for the assembly held at St. Marys beginning on the 25th day of



January, 1637.⁴ There were 67 freemen in attendance with Kent Island being represented by proxy. Our conversion factor, 2.4, gives a population of about 160, which is below the original 200 assumed to have landed in 1634. Since most of the records for this early period were destroyed in 1644, during Ingle's Rebellion, it is impossible to corroborate any suggested explanations for the lower number. One possible explanation is that some of the settlers may have moved to Kent Island and were not included

⁴ *Arch. Md.*, I, 2-4.

since Kent Island was represented by proxy, but there are no records of any of the St. Marys group having moved to Kent Island. It is possible, of course, that the conversion factor of 2.4:1 is wrong, or that the assumption that there were 200 settlers in the original party was not correct. A final explanation is that the difference may be a result of deaths exceeding births.

The data for 1638 is conflicting. One source is a listing of Freemen voting for Burgesses⁵ and another is the Assembly membership list.⁶ The totals do not differ greatly but the individual hundreds have some notable discrepancies. For instance the Island of Kent has 49 freemen and 9 assemblymen, and St. Marys 16 and 56. When the Freemen list is converted to population, the Island of Kent has 117 people, and the remainder of St. Marys County has 137, which is somewhat below the 1637 population of 160.

	<i>Freemen</i>	<i>Assembly Membership</i>
St. Maries Hundred	16	56
St. Michaels Hundred	14	
St. Georges Hundred	20	18
Mattapanient Hundred	7	7
Island of Kent Hundred	49	9
	<hr/> 106	<hr/> 90

When the Assembly membership list is converted, the Island of Kent has 21 people and the remainder of the province has 195. It seems that for the Island of Kent, the Freemen list is more reasonable while for St. Marys County the Assembly list is better. Bozeman, using a family ratio of 5:1 estimates the population of Kent Island in 1639 at 120.⁷ Combining the Freemen list for the Island of Kent with the Assembly list for St. Marys County gives a total for Maryland of 312.

If the figure 312 for 1638 is correct, the increase in population over that of 1634 is large enough to indicate that some immigration took place, but there are no records of ship arrivals. On the basis of data from the Census of 1776 some crude birth rate calculations have been made for four Hundreds, three in Harford

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁶ Sebastian F. Streeter, "Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland," *Fund Publication No. 9*, Md. Hist. Soc., 1876, p. 61.

⁷ Bozeman, John L. *History of Maryland from its First Settlement in 1663 to the Restoration in 1660* (2 vols.; Baltimore, 1837), II, 100.

County and one in Frederick County. Since the 1776 census gives ages, it is possible to determine the number under one year, and by a simple calculation to arrive at a birth rate. The rates 33, 33, 32, and 37 per 1,000 compare favorably with rates based on later Federal Censuses. Even if we assume a birth rate of 33 per 1,000 and no deaths the 200 people arriving at St. Marys in 1634 would only have increased to about 230 by 1638 leaving some 90 to be accounted for. This difference must have been made up by immigration from either Virginia or England.

The next available figures are for 1642 and again the data are not uniform. Various sources give populations that range from 346⁸ to an estimate by Bozeman of 900.⁹ Which is correct is impossible to say. Two of the sources give a breakdown by hundreds and are therefore more useful. From the July-August Assembly Proceedings the data yield a population of about 500¹⁰ while the August Assembly Proceedings give a figure of 650.¹¹ It is possible, however, that the July-August data may have been based on levy lists for 1641, while the August data were for 1642 since each of the hundreds shows an increase in population from the July-August to the August data.

The data for 1657 are based upon a tax levy which upon conversion yields a population of 4,870.¹² This value seems to fit the curve rather well, in that it continues the trend from the previous period. The rate of population increase is rapid, though numerically it is still small, being only about 270 per year.

During the period between 1642 and 1657 settlement had progressed to such an extent that it was considered desirable to establish two counties, Anne Arundel and Calvert in 1650. Anne Arundel was established around the new Puritan settlements along the Severn River. The formation of Calvert County reflected the spread of settlement along the Patuxent. Immediately after 1657 Charles and Baltimore Counties were formed, in 1658 and 1659 respectively, indicating that settlement had spread so far up the Potomac and to the head of the Bay that attendance at the Court in St. Marys was no longer convenient. Settlement of the Eastern Shore mainland did not begin until the treaty was signed with the Susquehanna in 1652.

⁸ *Arch. Md.*, III, 120.

⁹ Bozeman, *op. cit.*, II, 257.

¹⁰ *Arch. Md.*, I, 152.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 363.

For 1660 two modern estimates of population give 8,000 and 12,000.¹³ Both seem high compared to contemporary data for 1663 which record a population figure of 6,900.¹⁴ Even at the lower figure of 8,000 for 1660, there would have been a drop in population of about 1,100 during the three years to 1663. By ignoring the 1660 estimates and drawing a line instead to the figure 6,900 for 1663 the resulting curve shows a decrease in population growth.

By 1662 settlement had spread from Kent Island to the mainland, into the present Kent and Queen Anne's Counties, and a new county, Talbot, was established. On the Eastern Shore increasing settlement by Virginians in present Somerset County resulted in its establishment as a county in 1666. Two years later the area between the Choptank and Nanticoke Rivers was made into Dorchester County.

A population estimate of 16,000 for the year 1665 seems high, particularly since the contemporary value of 10,300¹⁵ for 1667 fits the general trend of the curve better and reflects an increase in the rate of population growth over that of the previous period. The 1667 data is based on militia for service against Indians and calls for every tenth person in each county. Those liable for military duty at this time were males over sixteen years of age, essentially the taxable persons. This assumption is substantiated by data on taxables for the same year in St. Marys County, for which the number of taxables was given as 688,¹⁶ and the number liable for military duty as 690. The numerical growth between 1663 and 1667 showed an increase of 850 per year, more than double the growth of the previous period. By 1671 the number of taxable persons had reached 5,641,¹⁷ which upon conversion results in a population figure of about 13,500. Thus there was a numerical increase of about 800 per year over 1667, somewhat smaller than the increase for the period 1663 to 1667. By 1671 settlements had formed a nearly continuous, though narrow, strip around the margins of the Bay and major estuaries except for the mainland of southern Dorchester County and the Nanticoke River

¹³ Thomas J. C. Williams, *The State of Maryland, A Description of its Lands, Products and Industries* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 21.

¹⁴ *Arch. Md.*, I, 506.

¹⁶ *Arch. Md.*, V, 20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 341.

although there were settlers on some of the offshore islands. Increasing settlement at the head of the Bay resulted in the division of Baltimore County in 1674, when the area to the east of the Susquehanna River became Cecil County and that to the west of the river Baltimore County. Prior to that time Baltimore County included the area covered by the present Cecil, Harford and Baltimore Counties.

A list of tithables for 1675 indicates that the population had increased to about 15,850.¹⁸ The rate of increase as well as the numerical increase, about 580 per year, was smaller than for the previous period. The spread of settlement was merely a continuation of the previous pattern with a narrowing of the gaps and a spread farther up the estuaries. The interiors of all the counties were still unsettled.

For the next twenty years there are relatively poor data. The figure for 1676, an estimated population of 20,000,¹⁹ is high, especially when compared to the 1675 population of 15,850, an increase of over 4,000 in one year. The next value of about 11,000²⁰ for the year 1681 is obviously too low, since it indicates a drop in population of nearly 5,000. There is no evidence in the historical records to indicate that such a drop occurred at this time though some twenty years later, in 1695 and 1697, notice was taken in the Council and mention made by Gov. Nicholson in a letter to the Board of Trade in England, that inhabitants were being induced or "inticed" to leave the Province. Gov. Nicholson said "The reasons as I conceive which induce the inhabitants of this province to leave it are, the encouragement which they have from the Carolinas and the Jersey but particularly from Pensilvania, which being so very nigh they easily remove thither."²¹ How significant in numbers this movement was is difficult to say, but since it warranted notice it may have been sufficient to modify the rate of growth. This may be an explanation in part for the rather marked variations of the data during the 1690's and the first decade of the 1700's.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

¹⁹ James S. M. Anderson, *History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (3 vols.; London, 1856), II, 395.

²⁰ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 187.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XX, 279, 328, and XXIII, 84.

The estimate of 25,000²² for 1683 seems high. The same number, 25,000, for 1688, while not so high relative to the general trend of the curve, is still somewhat high unless the 1690 figure of 27,000²³ based on a taxable list is a correct value. This 1690 figure seems high when compared to data for 1694, 1695, 1696 and 1697. Figures for all these years are based upon taxables and hence subject to error due to variations in the conversion factor. The only justification for using the 27,000 population figure for 1690 would be the assumption that the resultant leveling-off of the curve from 1690 to 1694 was due to the departure of people from the Province as stated by Gov. Nicholson. The 1694 figure is low since Cecil County is omitted.²⁴ Adding an estimated value for Cecil County would increase the total for the state to nearly 26,000 and place it very close to the general trend of the curve. Numerically the increase from 1675 to 1694 was about 500 per year which was somewhat less than for the previous period. By 1694 settlement had progressed far enough up the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers to justify establishment of a new county, Prince Georges. Elsewhere lands farther inland and up the estuaries were being taken up, but the interiors of all the counties were still unoccupied.

From 1694 to 1701 all the figures seem to follow the general trend rather closely. The figures for 1701 are considered the first accurate population data available.²⁵ The list does lack Baltimore County and whether or not its population was included in the figures for the other counties is not clear. The value, 32,258, fits the curve very well.²⁶ If a Baltimore population obtained from a taxable listing in another source is included, the state total is increased about 1,700²⁷ to a total of nearly 34,000, and thus results in an increase in the rate of growth followed by a marked leveling-off of the curve for the next three years.

The 1704 figure of 34,912²⁸ comes from a contemporary

²² Ethan Allen, *Historical Notices of St. Ann's Parish in Ann Arundel County, Maryland, Extending From 1649 to 1857* (Baltimore, 1857), p. 21.

²³ Evarts B. Green, and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), p. 124.

²⁴ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, LIII, lvii.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

²⁷ William N. Wilkins, "Baltimore County Tax Lists 1699-1706, 1737, 1773," *Ida-Charles Foundation*. Typed Ms. Md. Hist. Soc., p. vi.

²⁸ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 256.

Colonial Governor's (estimated?) list which includes county populations. It fits the curve very well and continues the general trend indicated by the previous periods of a rather rapid steady increase. The continuing spread of settlement up the Eastern Shore estuaries resulted in the establishment of a new county, Queen Annes, made up partly from Kent County and partly from Talbot County.

The 1707 figure of 33,883,²⁹ given in Gov. Seymour's letter to the Lords of Trade, is low when compared to the 1704 figures. These data do not give county listings so it is impossible to determine whether some counties were excluded, as was the case with Baltimore County in the 1701 data.

The figures, 42,741 for 1710,³⁰ and 46,151 for 1712,³¹ are contemporary county by county listings, and fit the general trend of the curve very well. The numerical increase from 1704 to 1712, about 1,400 per year, was higher than for the previous period.

For 1715 there are three population figures, two of which differ by only seventy and a third which appears to be incorrect. This last figure, a population of 30,000,³² implies a decline in population of about 16,000 over a three-year period. The first two figures, 50,270³³ and 50,200,³⁴ lie near the general trend of the curve.

For 1728 there is an estimate of 80,000³⁵ which seems to be reasonable in that it lies on the curve as drawn connecting the 1715 data with the figure for 1733.

The 1733 figure, 94,320,³⁶ is calculated from a tax listing in the Council Proceedings. As is the case with all data on taxables the conversion factor may introduce an error, but since it seems to fit the curve rather well it is assumed to be near the correct value. The numerical increase from 1715 to 1733 was over 2,400 per year. Settlements were beginning to reach into the Piedmont at

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 258.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 258.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 259.

³² Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³³ Arthur P. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast* (Newport News, 1953), p. 455.

³⁴ John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland, From the Earliest Period to the Present* (Baltimore, 1879), I, 383.

³⁵ *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XI, 283.

³⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.

a few locations by 1730. On the coastal plain there was a continuous fringe of settlement on the bay and along the estuaries, but the interiors of all the counties still contained unpopulated areas.

This first period of settlement on the coastal plain is marked by a very rapid rate of increase in population until about 1670, and then by a slower, but still rapid and steady, increase to the end of the period in 1730. The numerical growth has been from 200 in 1634 to 16,000 in 1670, and over 82,000 by 1730. In terms of percentages the increase by decades was rather high, over 100% before the 1670's followed by a marked drop to a range of 30% to 50%. The explanation of this sudden drop in the rate of growth is not apparent. The drop is too great to have been caused by changes in birth rates. The other two alternatives are either a decrease in the number of immigrants, or if immigration remained steady, emigration to other states. There are no indications that the latter was taking place at this time, and what factors in Europe could have affected emigration to Maryland is not clear.

TABLE 1
PERCENT INCREASE FOR STATE BY DECADES

1640-1650	212
1650-1660	352
1660-1670	122
1670-1680	36
1680-1690	28
1690-1700	49
1700-1710	26
1710-1720	39
1720-1730	39

COUNTIES

In the following section the counties will be discussed in order of their formation. The regional aspects are dealt with in the discussion of the "Percent Change Maps" that follows the county section.

ST. MARYS. St. Marys County at the time of its formation in 1637 included the settlements around St. Marys City as well as those on Kent Island. The earliest data available except for the

original estimated number of 200 settlers who arrived in 1634, are for the year 1637,³⁷ and, since Kent Island was not enumerated they apply to the St. Marys City settlements. These data give a population figure of 160, which, as has been mentioned in the state discussion, indicate a decrease from the 200 estimated as having arrived in 1634. The records are admittedly sketchy for these first years, but there is no evidence that enough persons moved from the vicinity of St. Marys City to cause the drop in population. The only movement noted was across the St. George's River (now St. Marys) which resulted in the erection of a hundred called St. Georges.³⁸ Since no evidence is available by which to ascertain which of the values is correct, there is no point in further speculation beyond what has been mentioned in the foregoing state discussion.

The figures for 1630 provide data by Hundreds and thus it is possible to give the figures for the St. Marys settlements exclusive of Kent Island, even though theoretically the Kent Island population should be included since Kent was not made into a county until 1642. By separating the data the curve is more realistic from the viewpoint of area growth. The 1638 population for St. Marys is approximately 200.³⁹

For 1639 it is possible to obtain an interpolated value, which lies somewhere between 240 and 280 depending upon whether the interpolation is based upon the state values, 254 (1638) and 650 (1642), or on county values, 160 (1637) and 200 (1638). The lower figures lie closer to the curve that results from connecting the 1638 and 1642 data.

In 1642 the Kent Island settlements, which previously had been designated a hundred, were made into a county, because of increasing population on Kent Island and difficulty of attendance at Court in St. Marys City. For this year we have several figures, of which the most reasonable seems to be the value 427,⁴⁰ since it bears out the rather steep curve begun by the 1637 and 1638 figures. A figure of 329⁴¹ is also given but when the data upon which it is based is studied more carefully it appears to be for the year 1641 rather than 1642. The 1642 data are by hundreds

³⁷ *Arch. Md.*, I, 2-4.

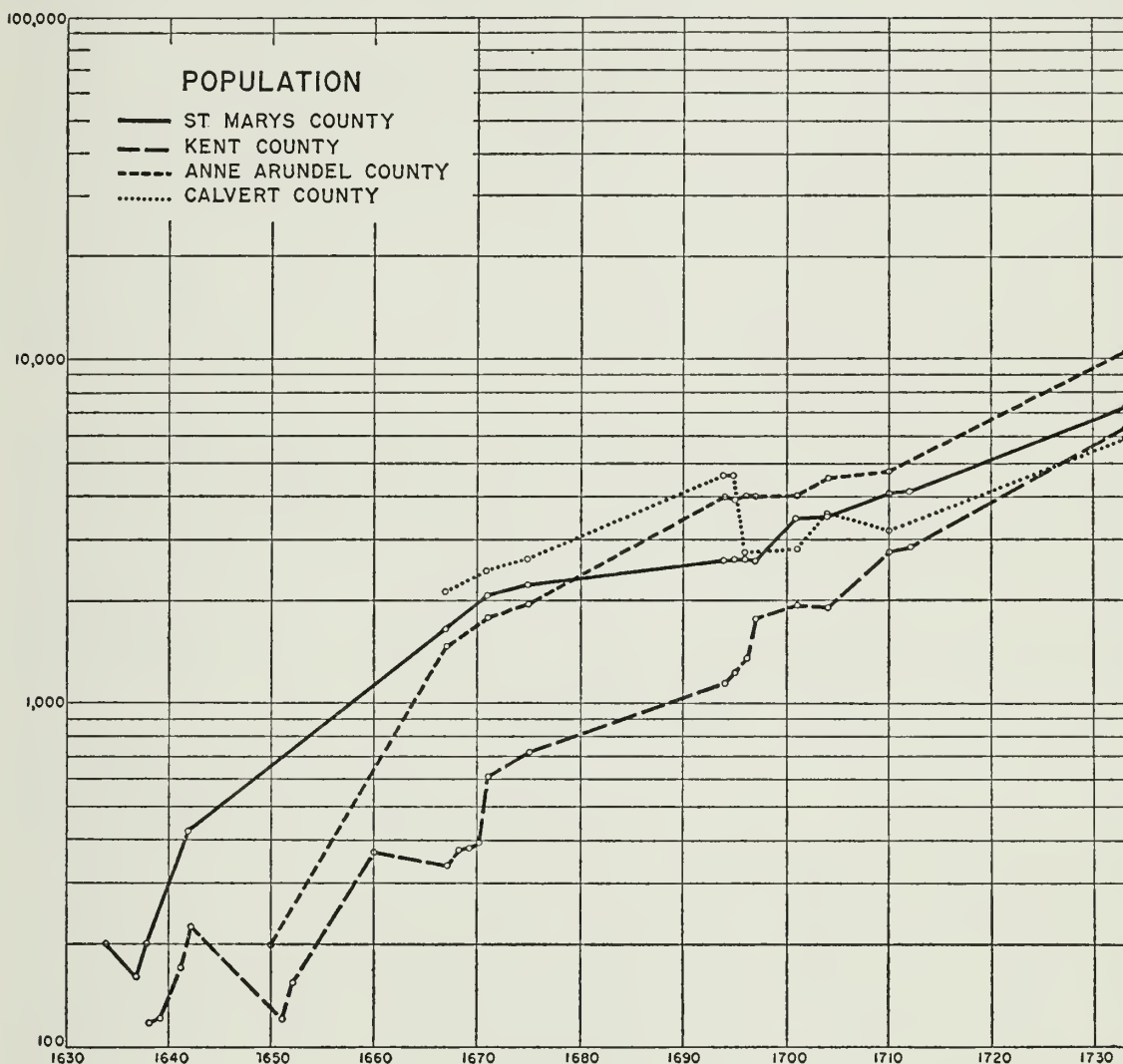
³⁸ Bozeman, *op. cit.*, II, 45.

³⁹ Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ *Arch. Md.*, I, 142.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

and give a clue to how far settlement had proceeded. St. Clements Hundred was located around present day St. Clements Bay in St. Marys County. Twenty-five taxable persons indicate a population of about 60, which is rather sparse even if they were all close to the Potomac River. Mattapanian Hundred was to the north of St. Marys City on the Patuxent. St. Michaels was south of St. Marys City and included the peninsula toward Pt. Lookout.



St. Georges Hundred was to the west just across the river from St. Marys City.

The next figure for St. Marys County is for the year 1648 and is calculated from an assessment.⁴² The value, about 340, is lower than the 1642 figure and indicates a decrease in population for which there is no evidence.

In 1650 two additional counties were formed, namely Anne

⁴² *Ibid.*, 231.

Arundel and Calvert. Since the next year for which figures are available is 1667, it is impossible to show the effect of their formation on the population curve for St. Marys County. The establishment of Anne Arundel County would have very little effect since it was practically coincident with its initial settlement, which occurred during the previous year. The number of settlers was small in 1650, and there were none between the Severn settlements and the Patuxent settlements. In the case of the formation of Calvert County there may have been some effect.

The formation in 1658 of Charles County would have had an effect on the population of St. Marys County. The establishment of the county reflected the continuing spread of settlement up the Potomac with settlers having reached the vicinity of Nanjemoy. An interpolation based upon 1662 figures suggests that Charles County had a population somewhere between 300 and 400 at the time of its formation.

By the year 1667 the population of St. Marys County had grown to 1,650⁴³ though it was no longer first in terms of numbers, having been surpassed by Calvert County. The settlements on the west bank of the Patuxent River, which today are in St. Marys County, were then part of Calvert County. The dividing line which passed through a generally uninhabited area coincided with "Three Notch Road" (Md. State 235).

The next data are for 1671 when a population of about 2,100 had been reached.⁴⁴ Up to this time the rate of growth had been the same as for the previous thirty years but this year marked a sudden drop. For the four years from 1667 to 1671 the increase in numbers was over 100 per year, while from 1671 to 1675 it was only slightly over 25 per year. With a population in 1675 of 2,200⁴⁵ St. Marys County became third in rank, having been passed by the growing Eastern Shore county of Talbot as well as by Calvert on the Western Shore. No further figures are available until 1694 when a population of about 2,600 was reached.⁴⁶ The intervening period was characterized by a very slow increase, only 400 in nineteen years, and actually the period of a very low rate continued for twenty-one years since the two following years showed no increase.

⁴³ *Arch. Md.*, V, 20.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 341.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

⁴⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

The hundreds on the west bank of the Patuxent were taken from Calvert County in 1695 and divided between St. Marys and Prince Georges. The difficulty of attempting detailed interpretations is well illustrated by the data of this 1695, 1696 and 1697 period.⁴⁷ In 1695 Calvert County had listed a population of 4,660, and in 1696 it had dropped to 2,720, but the figure given for 1697, 4,740, obviously still included the population of the hundreds taken from Calvert in 1695. St. Marys County, on the other hand, had in 1695 a population of 2,640, in 1696 a population of 2,630 and in 1697 a population of 2,610, and it is not until four years later, in 1701, that it jumped to 3,513,⁴⁸ no doubt, the result of including the areas taken from Calvert and given to St. Marys. In 1696 Prince Georges had a reported population of 1,710 but the following year only 1,340 and by 1701 it had risen to 2,358.⁴⁹ The 1695 population figure for Charles County is 2,580, for 1697 it is 1,900 and for 1701 it is back to 2,632.⁵⁰ In the above cases there is enough data spaced sufficiently close in time to permit the detection of errors, but in many other cases where no data is available for adjoining years, marked errors may go undetected. The sharp rise in the curve from 1697 to 1701 is then explained by the addition to St. Marys County of the hundreds on the west bank of the Patuxent. The data for 1701 then are the first to include the areas that makes up the present bounds of St. Marys County, and subsequent changes are internal rather than because of boundary changes.

From 1701 to 1704 there was no increase, the population, in 1701 being 3,513 and in 1704 only two people greater at 3,515.⁵¹ St. Marys had now dropped to fifth in population rank. By 1710 the population had increased at the rate of about 100 per year to 4,121,⁵² putting the county back in third place. This increase is not out of line with later increases for the county.

In 1712 a drop of about 30⁵³ was registered but from 1712 to 1733 the rate of increase was the same as for the 1704-1712 period. The numerical increase was about 150 per year to a total of 7,185,⁵⁴ but in rank the county had dropped down to sixth place.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XXV, 255; XXIII, 17-21, 248.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 256.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 258.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

For St. Marys County during this first period the numerical growth pattern was similar to that of the state. From the initial settlement to about 1670 the growth rate was rather rapid, after which it dropped suddenly, although it still continued at a fairly rapid rate. Some of the interior parts of the county were as yet entirely unsettled and others had only sparse population.

KENT COUNTY. While Kent County as constituted today dates from 1706, it was established as the second county in 1642. At the time of its formation it included only Kent Island, which was the only settled area on the Eastern Shore until around 1650 when the movement to the mainland began. Kent Island is now a part of Queen Annes County. As already mentioned, the establishment of the trading post on Kent Island in 1631 by Claiborne is sometimes considered the original settlement in Maryland. There was bitter controversy between Claiborne and Lord Baltimore as to whether or not the establishment of the post by Claiborne negated the provisions of the Maryland Charter which specified "hitherto uncultivated." Claiborne claimed that Lord Baltimore did not have under his charter any right to Kent Island. The dispute was settled in Lord Baltimore's favor on the basis that Claiborne's license was for a trading post only. At any rate Kent County, as originally defined, had its first settlement in 1631. The exact number of people associated with this settlement is not known. Andrews states that the trading post on Kent Island had grown into a plantation of about one hundred souls. The presumption is that he is referring to 1634, when St. Marys City was founded.

The first data we have are for Kent Island, not county, and give a population of 117 in 1638.⁵⁵ The figure is based on Freeman and Assembly Membership and as such is subject to error in conversion. For the following year there is an estimated population of 120.⁵⁶ The next data are for the year 1642 and hence the first figures for Kent County, which was established in this year. The figure 225,⁵⁷ when connected with the 1638 data, results in a curve that has nearly the same slope as St. Marys County, except that it is smaller in numbers. The curve indicates a relatively rapid rate of growth.

⁵⁵ *Arch. Md.*, I, 28.

⁵⁶ Bozeman, *op. cit.*, II, 100.

⁵⁷ *Arch. Md.*, I, 142.

For 1652 there are two figures, 155,⁵⁸ based on a list of taxables, and 330,⁵⁹ based on an assumption that a list of men (65) swearing allegiance to England represented heads of families. The 155 figure at first seems low, by about 70 persons. During this decade, 1642 to 1652, there was considerable disturbance and actual strife. Claiborne and Ingle had re-taken Kent Island and from there invaded and took over the western shore. Many of Calvert's supporters were forced to flee the Province. In 1646 Lord Calvert recaptured the Western Shore, and in 1647 Kent Island. These events may explain the loss in numbers and make reasonable the seemingly low figure of 155 for the year 1652. In connection with the second figure it should be noted that the number swearing allegiance, 65, was almost the same as the number of taxables, 64. The normal conversion for taxables for this period seems to be about 2.4. Support for a low figure is given by Bozeman who believes that there could not have been more than twenty families on the Island in 1651.⁶⁰ If this is converted at the family ratio of 6:1, the resulting population figure would be about 120.

From these low values of 1651 and 1652 the figures indicate a rapid rate of increase until 1660 with a total population figure of 365,⁶¹ based on the tax levy. Thus the increase from 1651 was nearly 250, which can be accounted for only by migrations from the western shore. On July 5, 1652, a treaty with the Susquehanna Indians which granted the whites settlement rights on both sides of the Bay down to the Choptank on the Eastern Shore and to the Patuxent on the western shore, stimulated migration to the mainland on the Eastern Shore. By 1660 settlements had been made along both shores of the lower Chester River, around Eastern Bay and its estuaries, a few scattered settlements on the north bank of the Choptank River, and the beginnings of settlement in Somerset County by Virginians from Accomack County on the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

The drop in the Kent County population from 1660 to 1667 was a result of the loss of most of the mainland settlements to the formation of Talbot County. Kent now consisted of Kent

⁵⁸ *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 14.

⁵⁹ George A. Hanson, *Old Kent, the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Chestertown, 1936), p. 57.

⁶⁰ Bozeman, *op. cit.*, II, 419.

⁶¹ *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 231.

Island and the lower half of the present Kent County. The dividing line ran from Worton Creek on the Bay to Morgan Creek on the Chester several miles north of Chestertown. The population in 1667 was 340, which placed Kent County at the bottom of the list in population rank.⁶²

The following three years, 1668, 1669 and 1670, saw a rather slow increase, about 20 per year.⁶³ From 1670 to 1671, however, there was a marked rise in the curve to a total of 620, an increase of over 200 people.⁶⁴ From 1671 to 1675 the rate of growth was again slower, numbering about 25 a year. The population was now 720 and did not as yet include the settlements on the south bank of the Sassafras, which at this time belonged to Cecil County.⁶⁵ The area lying between these Sassafras settlements and those in lower Kent County was unoccupied. Settlements had reached to about Chestertown on the Chester River.

The growth for the next 19 years, to 1694, was at the slow rate of about 25 persons per year. The population in 1694 was 1,160.⁶⁶ In the following year the boundary between Kent and Talbot was defined and Kent Island was taken from Kent County, but the upper half of what is now Queen Annes County was given to Kent County and thus more than balanced the population loss resulting from the removal of Kent Island. This exchange apparently added some population since the curve to 1697 rises rather sharply.⁶⁷

From 1697 to 1701 the rate of increase was much less and from 1701 to 1704 there was a slight decrease. In 1701 the population was 1,930⁶⁸ and by 1704 it had been decreased by 40 to 1,891.⁶⁹ By this time settlement had reached nearly to the Delaware boundary on the Chester and Sassafras Rivers and was essentially continuous along the shores of the Bay. The interior was still unoccupied.

In 1706 the boundaries of Kent were defined as they are today. The area south of the Chester was given to a new county, Queen Annes, and the settlements on the south side of the Sassafras were taken from Cecil and given to Kent County. The exchange of

⁶² *Md. Arch.*, V, 21.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, LIV, 250, 270, 305.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, LIV, 317.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

⁶⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 248.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 256.

territory did not affect the population of Kent to any great extent, the loss in the south being balanced by the gain in the north. In 1710 the population of Kent County was 2,753 ⁷⁰ and by 1712 it had increased to 2,886 ⁷¹ which followed the general trend of the curve. From 1712 to 1733 the increase in population was at the rate of just over 100 per year, reaching a total of 6,290.⁷²

In general, on the graph Kent County's growth appears to fluctuate more than that of St. Mary's but this may be due to the greater number of years for which data are available for Kent County. The rapid growth of St. Marys County in the 1670's and the subsequent slowing down is not evident in the case of Kent County.

ANNE ARUNDEL. Anne Arundel County, established in 1650, had its initial settlement in 1649 when, in response to several invitations issued by the Maryland officials, a group of ten Puritan families from the shores of Nansemond River in Virginia settled on the Severn River near present Annapolis.⁷³ These ten families probably made up a total population of about sixty persons in the original group. In 1650, "the greater part of a group of some three hundred souls settled at Providence on the Severn."⁷⁴ What the "greater part" means is open to question, but a guess of about 200 is reasonable.

No additional data are available until 1667 when Anne Arundel had a population of 1,490 and was tied for third in population rank.⁷⁵ Prior to 1659 the few settlers at the head of the Bay, in what became Baltimore County, may possibly have been included with Anne Arundel County. Their numbers would not have been great, at most between two and three hundred. Since we have no data we must leave the curve as a line connecting the 200 of 1650 and the 1,490 of 1667. The growth rate was about 80 per year. During the Puritan Revolution, 1654-57, the name of the county was changed to Providence. By the time settlements reached the southern boundary, around 1655, that boundary had

⁷⁰ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁷² *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

⁷³ Edward B. Mathews, *The Counties of Maryland*. Maryland Geological Survey, Special Publication, Vol. III, Part 5. (Baltimore, 1907), p. 435.

⁷⁴ Mathew P. Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 227.

⁷⁵ *Arch. Md.*, V, 21.

been established in nearly its present position so that no appreciable changes in population were caused by the minor adjustments occurring later. The northern boundary was not defined until 1674 when the southern boundary of Baltimore County was stated to run two miles inland from the south bank of the Patapsco River. In 1698 the line was placed so as essentially to follow the divide between the Patapsco and Magothy. This boundary remained until 1726 when the present boundary, following the Patapsco, was established.

The next data are for four years later, 1671, and give Anne Arundel a population of 1,780,⁷⁶ an increase of about 75 per year. By this time all the shore and estuaries had been settled, with the Patuxent settlements reaching the extreme southwestern part of the county.

In another four years the population had reached 1,960, and the county was fourth in population rank.⁷⁷ The rate of growth was less than for the 1667-71 period, which marked a change from a rapid early growth. From 1675 to 1694 the rate of growth was a continuation of the rate for the previous period. The population had now reached 4,000 and the county was second in rank.⁷⁸ The growth rate was about 100 per year. The periphery of the county was now well settled but the interior was still largely unoccupied.

The population remained nearly stationary from 1694 to 1701. In 1701 it numbered 4,121, an increase of only 120 in seven years.⁷⁹ This was the period during which attention in the legislature was called to the departure of people from the province, and this may be a partial explanation for the leveling-off of the curve. From 1701 to 1704 the growth rate was the same as it was prior to 1694, an increase of about 110 per year. The population in 1704 was 4,572, which placed Anne Arundel first in rank.⁸⁰ During 1704 to 1710 the rate of increase was again slower, having grown only about 200 in the six years, or about 33 per year. The population was now 4,778 and the county was back to second in rank, having been surpassed by Somerset.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁷⁷ *Arch. Md.*, XV, 51.

⁷⁸ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 258.

From 1710 to 1712 and on to 1733 the growth rate was again more rapid, increasing at the rate of about 250 per year. The population in 1733 was 10,650, which placed the county second in rank, behind Prince Georges County.⁸² If more detailed data were available the curve would show the effect in 1726 of annexation of the area on the south side of the Patapsco. How many were added is difficult to say with accuracy, though an estimate can be made on the basis of the data for Baltimore County. In 1706 the south side of Patapsco Hundred had 166 taxables which would convert to a population of about 500,⁸³ so that in 1726 there may possibly have been as many as 600.

The overall growth pattern for Anne Arundel was similar to that for the state. The growth at first was very rapid and then tapered off sharply around 1670, though the rate of increase was still fairly rapid when compared to later periods.

CALVERT COUNTY. The term Calvert County was first used in July of 1654 when the Council made both sides of the Patuxent River up to Lyon's Creek into a county. Prior to this a part of the area had been made into a county called Charles. (There is no connection between this and present Charles County which was founded in 1658.) It was formed apparently as a result of an agreement between Lord Baltimore and a Robert Brookes, whereby Brookes was to be commander of a county to which he would bring a group of colonists, and included only the south and west side of the Patuxent. Later in 1654, during the Puritan Revolution, the name of Calvert County was changed to Patuxent. The name Calvert was restored in 1658. The lands on the south and west shores of the Patuxent were included with Calvert County until 1695 when they were divided between St. Marys, Charles and Prince Georges Counties. The present day boundaries of Calvert County date from 1695.

The first settlements on the Patuxent were made in 1637 by the Jesuits at Mattapany near present Millstone Landing, now included within the Patuxent Naval Air Test Center. The site was given to the Jesuits by the Indians in 1634. In 1637 they constructed a building and had eight husbandmen there. By the following year, 1638, their number had grown to fourteen and

⁸² *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

⁸³ Wilkins, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

the Patuxent area was made into a hundred called Mattapany.⁸⁴ Data for 1638 show that there were only seven freemen in "Mattapanient" Hundred. This converts to a population of about 25.

In 1642 an assessment for Assembly attendance indicated that Mattapanian Hundred had a population of about 45.⁸⁵ Other than knowing that with the arrival in 1650 of the above mentioned Brookes, an additional 40 people were added, we have no data until 1667 when a population of 2,130 was indicated by a taxable listing.⁸⁶ Calvert was at this time first in population and remained so until 1695 when, as a result of the loss of the settlements on the west side of the Patuxent, it dropped down to fourth.

From 1667 to 1694 growth was uniform but at a much slower rate although numerically it still was about 100 per year. By 1694 the population was 4,650⁸⁷ and in 1695 it was about the same, 4,655.⁸⁸ The drop by 1696 to a figure of 2,720, as mentioned above, was caused by the loss to Prince Georges, Charles and St. Marys Counties of the lands on the west side of the Patuxent.⁸⁹ This loss amounted to about 2,000 persons.

The listed 1697 figure of 4,740 obviously still includes the areas given to St. Marys, Charles and Prince Georges and thus are in reality pre-1695 data, rather than 1697 as listed.⁹⁰ This figure is not entered on the graph.

From 1696 to 1701 Calvert County's curve levels off as do the curves for all the counties during this period.⁹¹ This may be due in part to the departure of people from the province. Another possible explanation is the movement of people up the Patuxent. The formation in 1695 of Prince Georges testifies to the numbers that had moved north. The source of these migrants would most likely be from the southern counties including Calvert.

By 1700 only small areas in the interior of Calvert County remained unsettled. The shores of the Bay and the Patuxent were essentially occupied.

From 1701 to 1704 the curve rises rapidly with a population of 3,611 in 1704⁹² and then drops nearly 400 by 1710 to a

⁸⁴ Henry J. Berkeley, "History of Calvert County 1634-1734," typed manuscript, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁸⁵ *Arch. Md.*, I, 142.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 21.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 17-21.

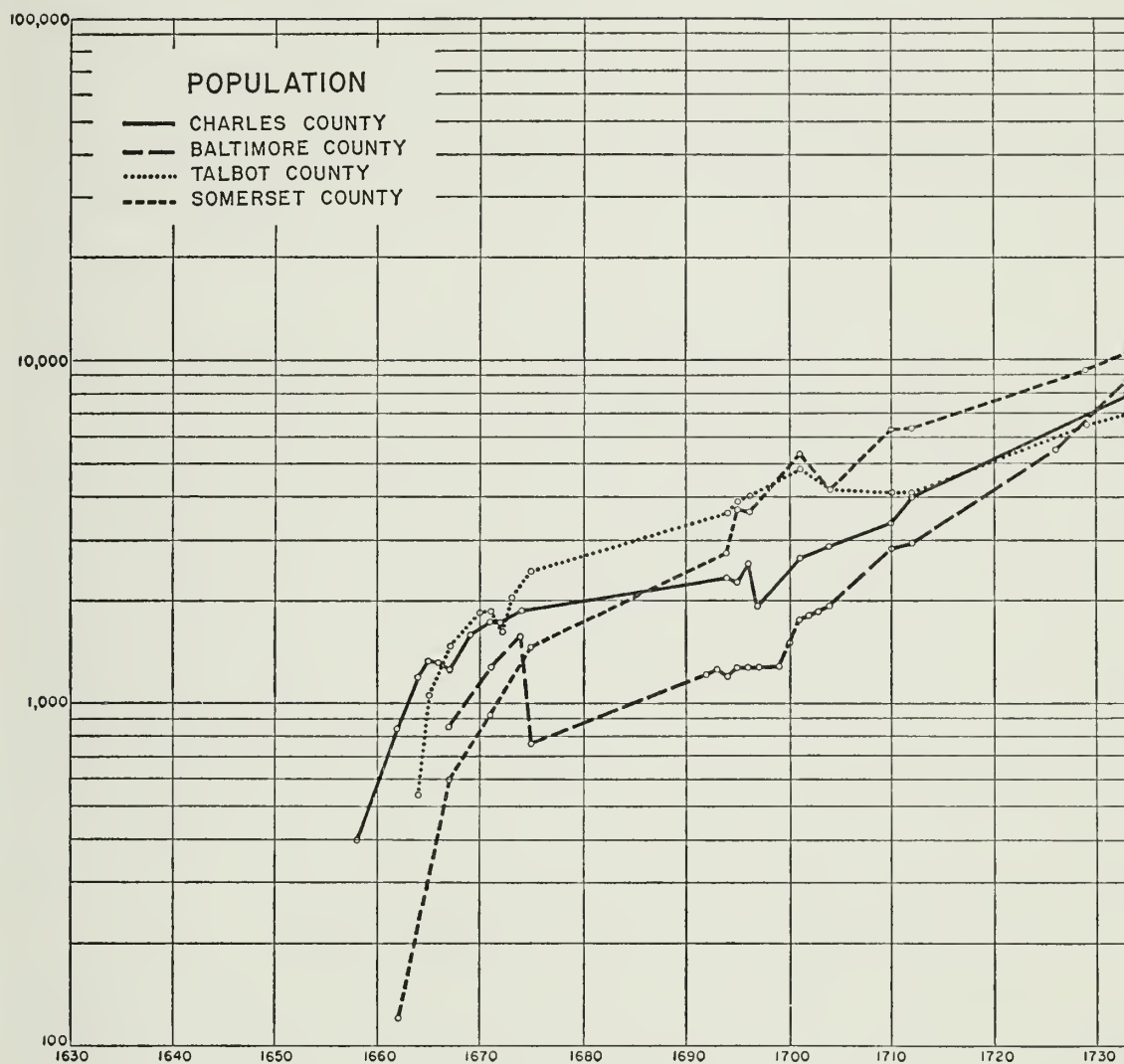
⁹⁰ See St. Marys County discussion.

⁹¹ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 256.

population of 3,216.⁹³ There is no explanation for this drop unless the 1704 figure is erroneously high. From 1710 to 1733 the curve is uniform, rising at a rate similar to the other counties for this period. The population in 1733 was 5,900, having increased from 1710 at a rate of about 130 per year.⁹⁴

Like the other two counties and the state, Calvert's growth



pattern was characterized by a rapid early rate to around 1670, followed by a much slower, though still rapid rate for the remainder of the period.

CHARLES COUNTY. The name Charles County has been used for two different areas. In 1650 the south side of the Patuxent River was made into a county called Charles. In 1654 the name

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

was changed to Calvert and later in the same year to Patuxent and then four years later, in 1658, back to Calvert. By 1658 the settlements up the Potomac around Port Tobacco and Nanjemoy Creeks had grown to such an extent that it was deemed necessary to establish a county to serve these people. There is no information as to just when the county was formed; either the bounds were not defined or the records have been lost. Mathews states that in 1695 the bounds of Charles County were defined in essentially their present form.⁹⁵ There seems to be some question as to the position of the easternmost hundred of Charles County, namely Newport Hundred. When the Church of England was established in Maryland in 1692 and the parishes formed, Newport Hundred was included in King and Queen Parish of St. Marys County. In 1706 an Act was passed uniting Newport Hundred of King and Queen's Parish to William and Mary Parish of Charles County.⁹⁶ Skirven says that Newport Hundred was considered a part of St. Marys County until 1716.⁹⁷ For several years starting in 1698 and running to 1730 we have in the records for All Faith's Parish listings for taxables in "Charles County part," indicating that the jurisdiction of Charles County extended to the Patuxent.⁹⁸ Parish statistics, therefore, must be used with care since it is apparent that Parish bounds do not always correspond to county boundaries. The only change in Charles County boundaries occurring after 1695, when Prince Georges County was formed from Charles County, was in 1748 when the area in the northwest part of Charles County north of Mattawoman Creek was taken from Prince Georges and returned to Charles County.

On the basis of data for 1662,⁹⁹ 1664¹⁰⁰ and later the population of Charles County at the time of its formation, 1658, has been estimated at somewhere between 300 and 400. The first data is from a taxable listing for the year 1662, which converts to a population of 860.

By 1665 a population of 1,335 had been reached, an increase

⁹⁵ Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

⁹⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XXVI, 629.

⁹⁷ Percy G. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 171.

⁹⁸ J. H. Berkeley, "Early Records of The Church and Parish of All Faith's, St. Marys County, 1692-1835," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX, 1935, 8.

⁹⁹ *Arch. Md.*, LIII, 273.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 522.

of about 160 per year.¹⁰¹ For the two following years a decrease of about 60 was registered so that the 1667 population was 1,270.¹⁰² The decrease is so small that it may be due to errors in either the 1665 or 1667 figures. Two years later, in 1669, the population had increased to 1,600.¹⁰³ The rate, 165 per year, was similar to that for the previous period. From 1669 to 1671 the increase was slower, totaling only 160, a rate of 80 per year.¹⁰⁴ From 1671 to 1672 a loss of 33 was registered.¹⁰⁵ From 1672 to 1674 the population increased to a figure of 1,880¹⁰⁶ with essentially no further increase during the following year.¹⁰⁷

From 1675 to 1694 the rate of growth was slow, an increase of only 450 in nineteen years, or a rate of 25 per year. The 1694 population was 2,330.¹⁰⁸

From 1694 to 1695 there was a slight decrease to a total of 2,265,¹⁰⁹ followed by a rise to 2,575 for 1696.¹¹⁰ From 1696 to 1697 there was a drop of nearly 700 in population.¹¹¹ The loss of territory in the formation of Prince Georges County may have contributed somewhat to these decreases, but since the major area of settlement in Prince Georges County at this time was on the Patuxent the loss by Charles County would have been only the scattered settlements on the Potomac. Another explanation is suggested by McSherry who says ". . . in 1694-95 an unusual scarcity prevailed and a destructive disease made its appearance among the livestock of the farmers and planters. In these two years 25,429 cattle and 62,375 hogs died. This was a heavy blow to the colony. Their misfortune did not stop here, two years later a violent epidemic made its appearance among the people of Charles County resulting in great loss of life."¹¹²

Four years later, in 1701, the population had again reached 2,600 thus recovering the 1696-97 losses.¹¹³ From 1701 to 1704 the rate of growth was less, only about 85 per year.¹¹⁴ The rate for the next six years was about the same.¹¹⁵ From 1710 to 1712

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 619.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, V, 21.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, LX, 229.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 341, LX, 348.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, LX, 586.

¹¹² James McSherry, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1904), p. 82.

¹¹³ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

¹⁰⁸ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 17-21.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 248.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹¹⁵ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

there was a rather sharp rise with an increase in population of nearly 600. From 1712 to 1733 the rate of growth was again slower. In 1712 the population was 4,009¹¹⁶ and by 1733 it was 7,870,¹¹⁷ an increase of 190 per year.

Thus it appears that Charles County had a pattern of growth similar to the other counties. The rate of growth was rapid up to the 1670's and then much slower to 1733.

BALTIMORE COUNTY. The records of the establishment of Baltimore County have never been found, so neither the exact date of its foundation nor the original boundaries are known. The year 1659 has become the commonly accepted date for its formation.¹¹⁸ According to an examination of land grant records, by Mathews, the boundaries at the time of its formation seem to have included the land on both sides of the Bay north of the Patapsco and Chester Rivers with the exception of Eastern Neck in lower Kent County.¹¹⁹

Prior to 1652 when the treaty was made with the Susquehanna Indians, permitting settlement to the head of the Bay, there were very few if any settlements. The earliest data, a taxable list, for Baltimore County is for the year 1667, eight years after its establishment. In that year, the county had a population of 865.¹²⁰ What the population in 1659 was it is impossible to say, but since a county was not formed unless there was a demand, an estimate between 300 and 400 would not seem unreasonable.

The earliest settlements were made in the eastern part of the county. The first court sessions were held in 1661 near the mouth of the Sassafras River in present Kent County. In 1664 the Court was held at Carpenter's Point on Northwest River. From 1674 to 1768 they were held within what is now Harford County. This sequence of court sites indicates the general trend of settlement and shift of the center of population from east to west.

From the 1667 population there was a rapid rise to 1,280 for 1671,¹²¹ an increase of about 100 per year. By this time settlements were to be found along the Bay shore and the lower parts of the estuaries and there was a greater inland penetration on the Eastern Shore. This more widespread settlement on the Eastern Shore

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

¹¹⁸ Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

¹²⁰ *Arch. Md.*, V, 21.

¹²¹ *Arch. Md.*, II, 341.

resulted in the formation in 1674 of a separate county, Cecil, from the area of Baltimore County lying to the east of the Susquehanna River.

The curve has been extended to 1674 on the basis of assuming that the combined Cecil and Baltimore County for 1675 would indicate the growth of Baltimore County had it remained undivided and that the 1674 population on this curve would represent the population in 1674 before the eastern part was made into Cecil County. The drop to a population of 765 in 1675 ¹²² reflects this loss.

The only other changes occurring in the boundaries of Baltimore County during the initial period were those in the southern, or Anne Arundel, boundary. Prior to 1698 the line ran two miles south of the Patapsco, but in 1698 it was shifted southward so that it ran essentially along the divide between the Patapsco and Magothy drainage. In 1726 the line was shifted north and followed the Patapsco.

From 1692 to 1699 the population remained stationary. It was during this period, as has been noted before, that the departure of people from the Province was noted in the Assembly. Pennsylvania in particular was mentioned since it was so close and the movement would be especially noticeable in Baltimore County which had a common boundary with Pennsylvania.

From a population of 1,295 in 1692 ¹²³ there was a rapid increase to 1,520 in 1700 ¹²⁴ and to 1,740 by the year 1701.¹²⁵ This was at a rate of about 200 per year. Three conditions may offer a partial explanation for this sharp increase. First the counter measures adopted by the Assembly to halt the departures may have been effective. These measures consisted of jailing, as disturbers of the peace, any person found guilty of spreading rumors that taxes were to be raised in Maryland or in any way inducing people to leave the province.¹²⁶ The second explanation might be a result of the shift southward of the Baltimore-Anne Arundel

¹²² *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

¹²³ William N. Wilkins, "List of Taxables, Baltimore County, Maryland, 1692, 1694 and 1695," *Ida Charles Foundation*, typed ms, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹²⁴ William N. Wilkins, "Baltimore County Tax Lists 1699-1706, 1737, 1773," *Ida Charles Foundation*. Typed ms, Md. Hist. Soc., p. vi.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, and *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

¹²⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XX, 328.

boundary. Some population increase resulted but the total was undoubtedly small. There does not seem to have been any great effect on the population curve of Anne Arundel County unless the lack of increase shown for the period from 1697 to 1701 might be attributed to this loss balancing the normal increase. The third possibility would be errors in data or their misinterpretation. All the data here in question prior to 1704 are based on taxable lists and as such are subject to some error in conversion. For 1701, which is a contemporary count and considered the first reliable figures for Maryland population, Baltimore County is missing. The figure for 1701 is from a taxable listing and not a contemporary population value. Its conversion factor of 2:1 has been used rather than the normal 2.6:1 because if the latter were used the population of Baltimore in 1701 would have been greater than in 1704 and also would have made Baltimore's population too high in comparison to other counties, especially when compared to its position in 1696, 1697 and 1704. The 1704 figures are a contemporary population count and must be considered more reliable than a taxable based figure.

From 1701 to 1704 the rate of increase was much slower, having dropped to about 60 per year. Baltimore County was no longer at the bottom of the population list, having passed Kent County by some thirty people. The population of the county was now 1,927.¹²⁷ During 1704 to 1710 the rate of increase was more rapid, being about 150 per year, giving a population of 2,827 by 1710.¹²⁸ Baltimore was now ninth of twelve in population rank. The following two years Baltimore had an increase of only 100 people and dropped down to tenth position with a population in 1712 of 2,923.¹²⁹ Settlements were still confined to the shores of the Bay and estuaries.

From 1712 to 1726 the rate of increase was again more rapid, with the population growing at the rate of about 190 per year. If more data were available the curve would show the loss in 1726 of the settlements on the south side of the Patapsco. The 1726 figure of 5,575¹³⁰ is based on a taxable listing which includes only areas to the north of the Patapsco so that the 1725 figure,

¹²⁷ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 256.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹³⁰ Mathews, *op. cit.*, 439.

if available, would be higher by about 600 (see discussion on Anne Arundel County).

From 1726 to 1730, the end of the first period, the increase was at the high rate of nearly 460 per year. By 1733 the population was 8,770¹³¹ and Baltimore County had risen to fourth place in population rank. Settlements were now beginning to spread up the estuaries beyond tidewater and had reached the Piedmont via the Patapsco.

TALBOT COUNTY. Like Baltimore County, the records for the establishment of Talbot County have not been found, so the exact date of its formation cannot be determined. It was apparently established in either 1661 or 1662. Its erection was in response to the increasing number of settlers moving to the mainland from Kent Island. Prior to the treaty with the Susquehanna Indians in 1652 there was very little settlement other than that on Kent Island. With the treaty providing security against Indian attacks the settlement of the mainland began, though relatively few patents were issued until 1658.¹³²

What the boundaries of the county were at the time of its erection is not known. The southern boundary was defined when Dorchester County was erected in 1668 whereby lands to the south of the Choptank were included in Dorchester. On the north the jurisdiction of Talbot County probably did not extend beyond the Chester River though there seems to be question on this point, some records implying that the north side of the Chester River was for a time included in Talbot. To the west the Bay was the boundary with the exception of Kent Island which was not included with Talbot until 1695. In 1706, when Queen Annes County was erected and the boundaries of the Eastern Shore counties defined, Talbot County received its present boundaries. By this action Talbot County lost what is now southern Queen Annes County including Kent Island.

What the population of Talbot was at the time of its formation we do not know, but in 1664, two or three years after its formation, it had a population of 540.¹³³ It seems that generally a population of 300 to 400 was required before a new county was

¹³¹ *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.

¹³² *Ibid.*, LIV, xii.

¹³³ *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 376.

established so that a similar number may have been present in Talbot at the time. At any rate the early growth was very rapid because from 1664 to 1665 the growth was from 540 to 1,070,¹³⁴ an increase of over 500 in one year. Study of available records have not revealed the reason for this rapid increase.

From 1665 to 1667 there was continued growth though not so rapid as before, with an increase of 400 in two years.¹³⁵ By 1670 the population had reached 1,860,¹³⁶ and 1,885¹³⁷ by the following year. Settlement was still limited to the immediate shores of the Bay and estuaries. Apparently the formation of Somerset in 1666 and Dorchester in 1668 had little or no effect on the population curve for Talbot.

From 1671 to 1672 a loss of over 200 people is indicated.¹³⁸ If this is not an error in data the explanation may lie in the boundary adjustments between Kent and Talbot which took place in June of 1671.¹³⁹ At any rate the loss was more than made up during the following year when the population rose to 2,055, an increase of nearly 400.¹⁴⁰ A slower though still rapid rate of increase continued for two more years to 1675, during which time another increase of nearly 400 took place. The population in 1675 was 2,445¹⁴¹ which placed Talbot in second position, exceeded only by Calvert County.

From 1675 to 1694 there is a nineteen-year period with no data. The increase during this period was 1,170, a yearly average of about sixty.¹⁴² From 1694 to 1695 there was an increase of over 300.¹⁴³ This was probably caused by boundary adjustments with Kent County in 1695 whereby Kent Island was given to Talbot. The areas lost by Talbot at the same time were less heavily settled lands in the northeast.

The data for the year 1696 are conflicting, 3,585¹⁴⁴ and 4,015.¹⁴⁵ The 4,015 figure is listed also for 1697. Both figures are derived from a taxables listing. If 3,585 is used an unexplainable drop in population will result. On the other hand, 4,015 fits into the curve well, *i. e.* it lies on the line connecting the year

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 389.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 21.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, LIV, 481.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 341.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, LIV, 545.

¹³⁹ Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

¹⁴⁰ *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 578

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 17-21.

1695 with 1701, and as previously noted the 1701 data is considered the first reliable population data for Maryland.

The population in 1701 was 4,862¹⁴⁶ which still kept Talbot in second place, exceeded now by Somerset. The increase from 1695 to 1701 was nearly 1,000, an annual increase of about 160.

From 1701 to 1704¹⁴⁷ a drop of over 600 in population was recorded, with a further, though less marked, drop of 125 from 1704 to 1710.¹⁴⁸ If this drop had occurred in 1706 the explanation would be simple, for in that year Kent Island and the southern part of what is now Queen Annes County was taken from Talbot. Since the data indicate that the drop had occurred by 1704, two years prior, there is some question as to its explanation. The 1704 data is from a letter of Gov. Seymour dated July 3, 1705 and gives a "list of men, women and children and slaves in 1704."¹⁴⁹ The possibility that the data apply to 1706 is rather remote. The petitions which resulted in the Act forming Queen Annes County were presented in 1704, though the Act was not passed until April 18, 1706, so that unless the 1704 data were limited to the proposed bounds in anticipation it cannot be used as an explanation.

From 1710 to 1712 there is only a slight increase of about 70. The population in 1712 was 4,178¹⁵⁰ which placed Talbot in third position, behind Somerset and Anne Arundel. From 1712 to 1733 the rate of growth was more rapid, being nearly 150 per year. The 1733 population was 7,015¹⁵¹ but Talbot had now dropped to eighth of twelve in population rank, indicating that its growth rate was slower than that of most of the counties. Settlement had by now spread up the Choptank so that the eastern, southern and western peripheries were occupied leaving only the center unsettled.

In general, Talbot's population growth was similar to the state growth. It had a rapid rate up to around 1670 and then a much slower rate of increase for the remainder of the first period to 1733.

SOMERSET COUNTY. The first settlements on the lower Eastern Shore were made in what is now Somerset County about the year

¹⁴⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

1660 by Quakers who fled the repressive measures of Virginia's Governor Berkeley. As early as 1651 Lord Baltimore, fearful of boundary disputes, had instructed his representatives in the province to make an effort to attract settlers to the Eastern Shore.¹⁵² Due to the civil wars in England and the control of Maryland by the Puritans, little was actually accomplished. On November 6, 1661, the Governor of Maryland issued a proclamation inviting settlers and appointed three commissioners with authority to grant land in this section.¹⁵³ The Quakers settled on the Big Annemessex, and another group, mostly Church of England, settled on the Manokin River.¹⁵⁴ These settlements formed the nucleus for the county.

The first data that we have for the area is for 1662, four years before its official formation in 1664. At that time there were fifty tithables living at Manokin and Annemessex.¹⁵⁵ This would mean a population of about 120 people.

The county was officially established on August 22, 1666. The southern boundary was the southern boundary of the province on the Eastern Shore, though this was not settled until June, 1668. The northern boundary was the Nanticoke River while the eastern and western boundaries were the Atlantic Ocean and the Chesapeake Bay. In 1669 a county by the name of Worcester was established on the Atlantic Coast running north to Cape Henlopen, but apparently it existed in name only.¹⁵⁶ The only other change in Somerset County boundaries occurring during the initial period was in 1684 when the area lying between Marshy Hope Creek and the Nanticoke River was given to Dorchester County. This area had been under Somerset jurisdiction since it had been assumed that the Marshy Hope was the main branch of the Nanticoke River.

The first population data after formation of the county is for the year 1667 when a total of 600¹⁵⁷ was indicated, a growth of nearly 500 in the five year period. Four years later the population had grown to 925, an increase of over 300.¹⁵⁸ Settlements were

¹⁵² *Arch. Md.*, LIII, xxvii.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset On The Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), p. 14.

¹⁵⁵ *Arch. Md.*, III, 452.

¹⁵⁶ Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

¹⁵⁷ *Arch. Md.*, V, 21.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 341.

still largely confined to the lower part of the Pocomoke River. There were few if any settlements on the Atlantic nor were there any, as yet, on the Nanticoke.

From 1671 to 1675 we have a growth rate of about 130 per year, resulting in a population of 1,450 in 1675.¹⁵⁹ Up to this point the growth had been at a relatively rapid rate, but from 1675 to 1694 the rate was slower, about 70 per year.¹⁶⁰ This slower increase from the 1670's to the 1690's was characteristic of the state and other counties. The loss of the area lying between Marshy Hope and Nanticoke River did not affect the population of Somerset since extensive settlements had not reached this area as yet.

From 1694 to 1695 there was a marked increase of over 1,000.¹⁶¹ It is difficult to determine the reason for this sharp rise in population. This was the period when the number of departures from the province was being noted in the Assembly. For the following year there was a drop of about 160,¹⁶² but from 1696 to 1701 there was another rapid increase, 1,800 in five years, or over 300 per year.¹⁶³ The possibility that the data may be in error must always be considered though the 1701 data are considered reliable. The settlements had by now begun to spread up the rivers, having reached well above Snow Hill on the Pocomoke and beyond the Marshy Hope on the Nanticoke. The Atlantic Coast was unsettled as was the interior of the county. Somerset was now first in population rank.

From 1701 to 1704 there was a drop in population of over 1,000¹⁶⁴ for which there is no explanation at present. There followed a rapid growth until 1710, when an increase of nearly 2,000 was recorded for the six year period, a growth of over 300 per year. With the 1710 population of 6,314 Somerset remained in first rank.¹⁶⁵ These figures suggest strongly that the 1704 data may be low, though the rapid increase of 1694 to 1701 would still be unexplained even assuming that the 1704 data were low. There was little increase, only 40 persons, from 1710 to 1712.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

¹⁶⁰ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁶⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 259.

From 1712 to 1729 the rate was slower than from 1704 to 1710, though the numerical increase of 170 per year was not low. The 1729 population was 9,395.¹⁶⁷ By 1733 the population of Somerset was 10,475, and the county dropped to third in rank, behind Prince Georges and Anne Arundel.¹⁶⁸ Settlement had now begun to reach the Atlantic Coast and farther up the rivers, though most of the interior was still unoccupied. Uncertainty as to the exact location of the Maryland-Delaware boundary discouraged settlement in the interior near the disputed area.

In general the population curve of Somerset County is very much like that for the state with its early rapid increase which tapered off after the 1670's.

DORCHESTER COUNTY. As has been the case with several counties the records for the establishment of Dorchester County have been lost. Mathews believes that it was established in the latter part of 1668.¹⁶⁹ The boundaries were apparently the Choptank on the north, the Nanticoke on the south, the Bay on the west, and an undefined boundary with New Sweden (Delaware) on the east. Between the date of the county's erection and 1733 two boundary changes took place. The first was in 1684 when the area lying between Marshy Hope Creek and Nanticoke River was taken from Somerset County and given to Dorchester. The second occurred in 1706 when Queen Annes County was erected. The loss in territory was mostly in what is now Delaware and since this area was unsettled its significance with respect to population numbers was slight.

The settlement of Dorchester County was begun around 1660. Many land patents had been surveyed by 1659 though apparently, due to fear of the Indians, very few had actually settled there by then. Mathews,¹⁷⁰ quoting Jones, seems to indicate that there were 500 inhabitants by 1659, and since in general a new county was formed when 400 to 500 inhabitants were located in an area some distance from a court, a figure of 500 would be more likely to apply to 1669 since Dorchester was formed in 1668 or possibly

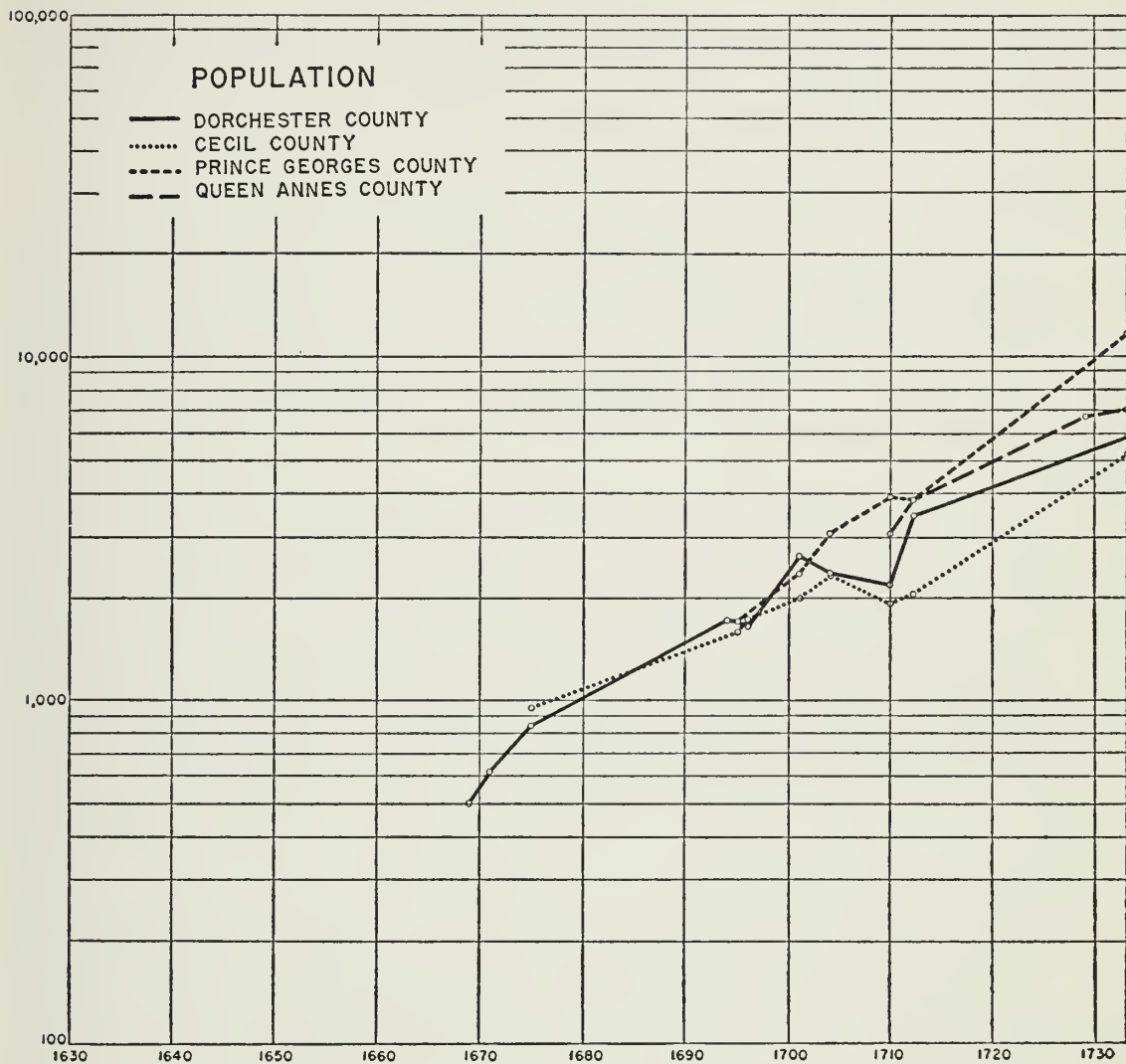
¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 450.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

¹⁶⁹ Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

¹⁷⁰ Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 477, and Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 32.

early in 1669. This assumption is further supported by the data for 1671 which gives a population of 630¹⁷¹ for Dorchester County. On the basis of the growth pattern of other counties thus far studied, it would seem that if the 500 figure were to apply to 1659 the resulting growth rate would be too low.



If the 1669 figure was 500 there would have been a relatively fast growth rate for the first six years. The population in 1671 was 630 and by 1675, 850.¹⁷² This would give a numerical growth of nearly 60 per year.

From 1675 to 1694 the rate of growth was somewhat slower,

¹⁷¹ *Arch. Md.*, II, 341.

¹⁷² Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (2 vols., New York, 1930), 1017, quotes a figure of 355 taxables for 1673 while the *Arch. Md.*, XV, 51, gives the same figure for 1675. I am assuming that the Archival figure is correct.

about 45 per year, until by 1694 the population was 1,720.¹⁷³ The following two years showed a decline of 85 people.¹⁷³ The reason for this decline is not known unless it was caused by the same epidemic that was noted for Charles County in 1696. While it may have been most virulent in Charles it is possible that some losses to the disease may have occurred in Dorchester. The general, slower rate of growth during the period from 1675 was probably influenced to a degree by the departure of people from the province, which has been noted in the discussions for the other counties.

From 1696 to 1701, there was a marked increase in population, from 1,630 to 2,617,¹⁷⁴ a rise in five years of nearly 1,000, which was similar to what occurred in Somerset, nor is there an explanation for it there. Nothing has been found in the historical records of a great influx of people to the lower Eastern Shore during this period.

Between 1701 and 1704 a decline in population of about 300 took place.¹⁷⁵ The explanation for this drop is not present in the available facts. The loss of territory to Queen Annes did not occur until 1706 and actually the area was small in size and unsettled so that it would not be significant. A similar fall occurred at this time in Somerset, Talbot and Kent, all Eastern Shore counties, while all the counties on the western shore show an increase and in some cases a pronounced rise. This would seem to suggest that the condition or conditions leading to the decline in population was confined to the Eastern Shore. Further study of the Eastern Shore conditions during this period may possibly reveal the causes. The decline in population continued from 1704 to 1710 with a further fall of 131, giving a total decline from 1701 to 1710 of over 400.¹⁷⁶

From a population of 2,181 in 1710 there was an extremely sharp rise of nearly 1,300 during the following two years.¹⁷⁷ There was no adequate explanation for the drop from 1701 to 1710, nor is there one for the sharp reversal of the trend to a marked increase. The suspicion is that some of the figures may be in error. If these were figures converted from taxables, there

¹⁷³ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁷⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 259.

would be more basis to question them, but they are contemporary population figures.

From 1712 to the end of the period in 1730 there was an increase at a rate of about 110 per year. The population in 1733 was 5,850¹⁷⁸ which placed Dorchester eleventh in population rank with only Cecil County having a smaller population. By this time settlement had spread up the Choptank and the Nanticoke-Marshy Hope Rivers to about the Maryland-Delaware boundary. The interior of the county was still largely unsettled.

CECIL COUNTY. Cecil County was established on June 6, 1674 by a Proclamation of Charles Calvert. From about the time of its first settlement in 1658 to 1674, Cecil County was a part of Baltimore County, Baltimore County having been established in 1659. As mentioned in the Baltimore County discussion the eastern part of the county was settled earlier and soon became sufficiently populated to warrant its establishment into a separate division. The boundaries of Cecil County have had only one modification resulting in loss of population, the shift northward of the Cecil-Kent County boundary on May 1, 1707 to its present position which follows the Sassafras River. The western boundary has remained the Susquehanna and the Bay. It is the northern and eastern boundaries of the Province which were subject to change, but since settlement at this time was limited mostly to the shores of the Bay, these changes had little effect on population numbers. The indefiniteness of the province boundaries actually discouraged settlement near them.

The relatively dense settlement of the part of Baltimore County that became Cecil County is shown by the fact that the population of Cecil was nearly 1,000 within one year after its establishment.¹⁷⁹ Settlements had spread by that time along the Bay and up the major estuaries.

The next data we have is for 1695 when Cecil had a population of 1,605,¹⁸⁰ an increase of only 650 in twenty years or about 30 per year. During the following year there was a rise of about 130.¹⁸¹ From 1696 to 1701 the rate was again slow, being only about 50 per year. The population in 1701 was 2,004¹⁸² and had

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

¹⁷⁹ *Arch. Md.*, XV, 51.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

spread somewhat so that Sassafras Neck, between the Sassafras River and Bohemia River, had settlers over its western two-thirds.

From 1701 to 1704 there was a rapid rise of over a hundred per year and Cecil moved up in population rank to eighth position.¹⁸³ From 1704 to 1710 the curve shows a decline from 2,335 in 1704 to 1,950 in 1710.¹⁸⁴ This was due to the loss of the area south of the Sassafras River which was given to Kent County in 1707.

The increase from 1710 to 1733, when a population of 5,360¹⁸⁵ had been reached, was at a rate of about 150 per year, but Cecil dropped to last place in terms of population rank. Settlement had by this time spread over most of the county south of Elk River. To the north of Elk River the interior of the county was still unsettled.

PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY. In spite of the rather late date of the establishment of Prince Georges, 1695, its southeastern section was settled rather early. Shortly after 1650, when old Charles County was formed, settlements had spread up the Patuxent to about Mataponi Creek. These settlements were under old Charles County jurisdiction until 1654 when the areas on both sides of the Patuxent were erected into Calvert County. In 1658 with the erection of new Charles County all the Patuxent settlements of what is now Prince Georges were included with Charles County. The Patuxent settlements remained with Calvert County until 1695.

The boundary of Prince Georges County on the south was located up the Mattawoman Creek to a point one mile above Mattawoman and from there ran in a straight line to near the head of Swanson's Creek, the east and north boundaries followed the Patuxent River, the west boundary the Potomac. These boundaries were not changed during the initial period.

In 1695, when Prince Georges County was established there were settlements along the Patuxent almost as far as Laurel. On the Potomac there were no settlements around Piscataway because that area was reserved by the Piscataway Indians as a permanent home.¹⁸⁶ There were a few scattered settlements near the mouth of Rock Creek and up the Anacostia to the vicinity of Hyattsville.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁸⁵ *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.

¹⁸⁶ Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

The first population data that we have for Prince Georges is for the year 1696, one year after its formation. For that year there are two figures, 1,710¹⁸⁷ and 2,025.¹²⁸ Since most of the population that made up Prince Georges was concentrated on the Patuxent and under the jurisdiction of Calvert County prior to its being placed under Prince Georges, the loss of population by Calvert would be an approximate indicator of the population of Prince Georges County. On this basis the figure 1,710 would seem more realistic.

For the following year, 1697, the population figure of 1,335 does not seem reasonable.¹⁸⁹ As has been indicated before there is some question about this data. There is the possibility that the epidemic that was supposed to have caused great loss of life in Charles County at this time may have affected Prince Georges County as well.

The next figure, 2,358 for the year 1701,¹⁹⁰ indicates an increase in population of nearly 650 if the 1697 drop is discounted, but if the 1697 data is used the rise from that year to 1701 would be over 1,000, which seems excessive.

From 1701 to 1704 there is a rather rapid rise of nearly 250 per year.¹⁹¹ The rise continued, though not so rapidly, until 1710 when Prince Georges County had a population of nearly 4,000¹⁹² and was in fifth place.

From 1710 to 1712 a falling off of about 200 people was recorded. The decline is unexplainable. The only other county similarly suffering at this time was St. Marys which lost about thirty. There was no curtailment of territory.

From a population of 3,790¹⁹³ in 1712 a rapid rise, to 11,772, follows and consequent first rank in population by 1733.¹⁹⁴ The rate of increase of over 380 per year was one of the most rapid for any of the counties for this period. The settlements had by this time reached into what is now Montgomery County along the Patuxent and the Potomac. The interior of the county was still mostly unsettled.

¹⁸⁷ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁸⁸ Bernard C. Steiner, "Some Unpublished Manuscripts from Fulham Palace Relating to Provincial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XII (1917), 118.

¹⁸⁹ *Arch. Md.*, XXIII, 92.

¹⁹² *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

The growth of Prince Georges County on the whole has been at a more rapid rate than that of the other counties, probably as a result of greater availability of land.

QUEEN ANNES COUNTY. Queen Annes County was the last county formed during this initial period, having been made into a county by the Assembly on April 18, 1706. The boundaries as set up remained unchanged until 1773 when Caroline County was formed from the eastern parts of Queen Annes and Dorchester Counties. The boundaries as constituted in 1706 are the same as at present, with the exception of the above mentioned area east of Tuckahoe Creek.

The county of Queen Annes includes within its present borders the first settlements on the Eastern Shore, namely Kent Island. By 1647 only a handful of settlers had moved to the mainland. Not until a treaty was made in 1652 with the Susquehanna Indians did settlements spread both north and south. The area which is now Queen Annes County was first under Kent County then Talbot until 1706. At this time Queen Annes County was settled on the Bay and up the Chester River beyond Chestertown. The disputed location of the eastern boundary discouraged movement inland.

The first data that we have for Queen Annes County as such is for 1710 when it had a population of 3,067.¹⁹⁵ What the population was in 1706 is impossible to determine since there were such marked changes in boundaries at the time the county was formed. Since it included some of the older settled areas on the Eastern Shore it probably was near 2,000.

From 1710 to 1712 there was an increase of nearly 800.¹⁹⁶ From 1712 to 1729 the rate, while slower, was still nearly 180 per year.¹⁹⁷ From 1729 to 1733 the rate had declined still farther and was only about 75 per year. The population in 1733 was 7,175,¹⁹⁸ which placed it in seventh rank of twelve. Settlement had reached into Queen Annes County up the Choptank and Tuckahoe and settlement up the Chester was nearly to the Maryland-Delaware line. The interior, as in other counties, was still unsettled.

¹⁹⁵ *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁹⁷ Levy List, Queen Annes County, 1728-1753, ms, Hall of Records.

¹⁹⁸ *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.

TABLE 2

ESTIMATED COUNTY POPULATION BY DECADES 1640-1730

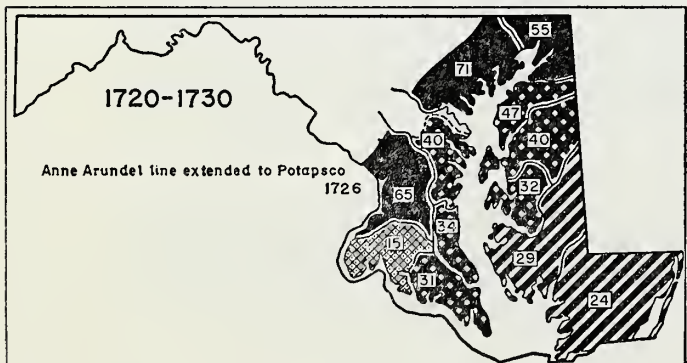
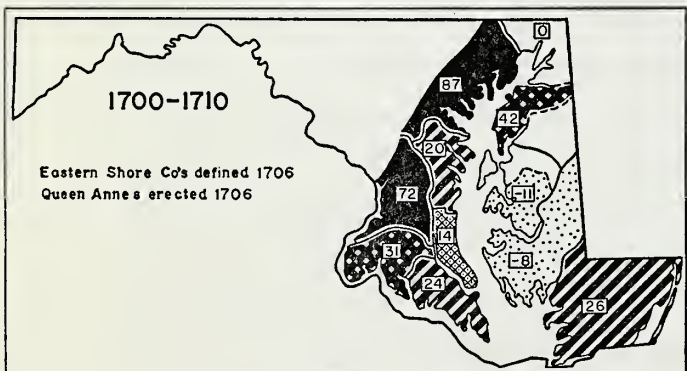
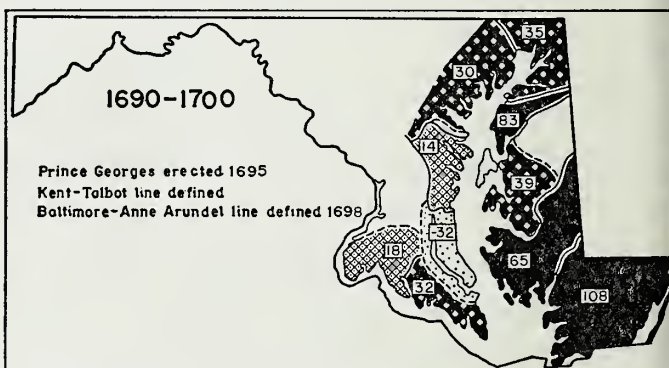
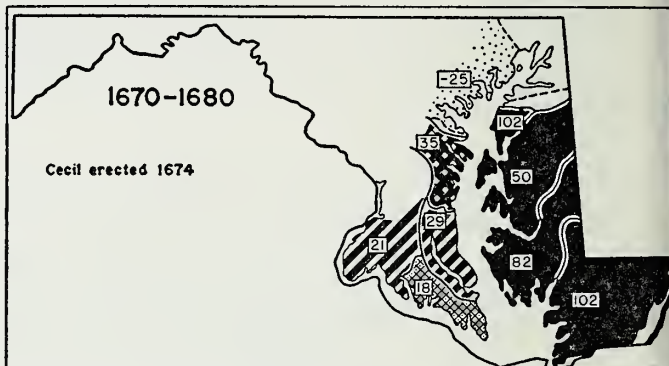
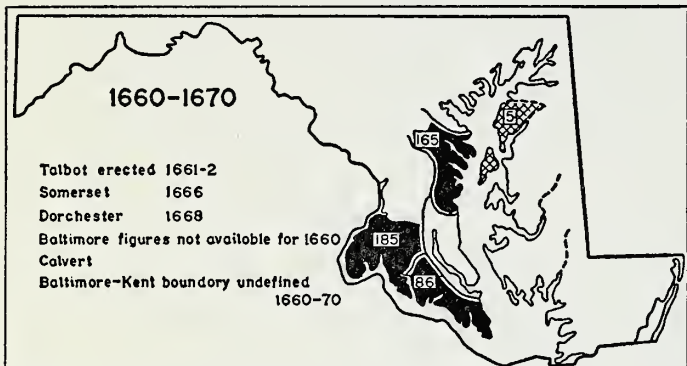
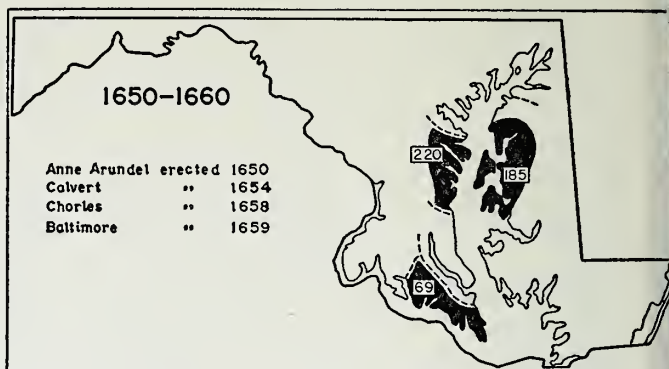
	1640	1650	1660	1670	1680	1690	1700	1710	1720	1730
St. Mary's	300	650	1,150	2,000	2,300	2,500	3,300	4,121	5,100	6,800
Kent	130	160	365	615	800	1,050	1,900	2,753	3,800	5,600
Anne Arundel		200	630	1,800	2,300	3,400	4,100	4,778	6,700	9,400
Calvert		400	1,800	2,400	3,000	4,100	2,800	3,216	4,200	4,900
Charles			600	1,700	2,000	2,200	2,600	3,429	5,100	7,100
Baltimore			400	1,200	900	1,100	1,700	2,827	4,100	7,000
Talbot				1,860	2,700	3,300	4,800	4,105	5,000	6,500
Somerset				800	1,700	2,400	5,000	6,314	7,600	9,400
Dorchester				550	1,000	1,450	2,500	2,181	4,200	5,400
Cecil					1,100	1,400	1,950	1,956	2,900	4,500
Prince George's							2,300	3,994	5,800	9,600
Queen Anne's								3,067	5,000	6,675

With the exception of the data for 1710, which are contemporary population figures (*Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258), the table is derived from estimates based on taxables or interpolated from the County population graphs.

PERCENT CHANGE MAPS

On the basis of interpolations made from data for each county a series of percent change maps by decades have been constructed. From these maps the broad patterns of growth can be seen. Areas of new settlement have very high increases at first but soon drop to more modest gains. From 1640-50 and 1650-60 the large increases were on the western shore, while the 1660-70 decade showed largest gains on the Eastern Shore. During 1640-50 St. Marys had an increase of 116%. From 1650-60 the increase for St. Marys was only 69%, while the newly occupied Anne Arundel settlements grew at a rate of 220%. On the Eastern Shore the spread of settlements to the mainland gave Kent County an increase of 184%. By 1660-70 the spread up the Potomac gave Charles County an increase of 184%. The increase of 165% for Anne Arundel was less than during the previous decade. On the Eastern Shore, Kent County showed a small rise due to the division of the Eastern Shore into four counties. In reality the increase for the Eastern Shore as a whole during the 1660-70 decade was nearly tenfold.

From 1670-80 the Eastern Shore counties had percent increases ranging from 50 in Talbot, 82 in Dorchester, and 102 in Kent



**MARYLAND POPULATION
PERCENT CHANGE BY DECADES
1640-1730**

(FIGURES INDICATE PERCENT)



and Worcester. On the western shore the population changes varied from a 35% high in Anne Arundel to a loss of 25% in Baltimore. The decline in Baltimore was due to the formation of Cecil County from its eastern section. In general the older settled counties of St. Marys, Charles, and Calvert showed the effects of lesser immigration due to lack of unoccupied lands. During the following decade, 1680-90, the range of increase was lower still in St. Marys and Charles, being only 8.6 and 10% respectively. On the Eastern Shore the range of increase had also dropped to 45% in Dorchester and 22% in Talbot. The only county showing an increase of over 50% was Anne Arundel with 52%.

From 1690 to 1700 all the Eastern Shore counties had larger percent increases than those on the Western Shore. On the Eastern Shore, Somerset had an increase of 108% largely because of the spread of settlement eastward into what is now Worcester County. On the western shore the 31% decrease for Calvert County was due to the loss of the areas on the west bank of the Patuxent to St. Marys and Charles Countries, which also explains St. Marys' relatively high increase of 32% and Charles' of 18%.

From 1710 to 1720 all counties showed increases of more than 20% and three were in excess of 50%, namely Dorchester, Charles and Cecil, with 91, 82 and 53% respectively. Prince Georges and Baltimore were just under 50% with increases of 49 and 46%. The Western on the whole had a greater percent increase than the Eastern Shore, for this decade.

During the next decade large increases were registered by Baltimore, Prince Georges and Cecil Counties with 71, 65 and 55% respectively. Charles County was lowest with 14.5%. On the Eastern Shore the increases, excluding Cecil, ranged from 47% in Kent to 24% in Somerset.

In general the maps indicate the areas which were gaining population from migration either from one part of the state to another or from outside. On the whole, counties showing increases of over 20% were those which were growing at a rate in excess of the natural increase.

SIDELIGHTS

A MARYLANDER IN THE MEXICAN WAR: SOME LETTERS OF J. J. ARCHER

Edited by C. A. PORTER HOPKINS

Among the interesting collections of the Maryland Historical Society are the letters of James J. Archer of "Rock Run," Harford County, Maryland. James J. Archer was born December 19th, 1817, the eighth child of eleven born to John Archer and his wife Ann Stump.¹ The Archer family, a large and influential one, owned much land in Harford County and contributed, in addition to the well-known Dr. John Archer of "Medical Hall," many leaders in government, commerce, and agriculture.

James J. Archer was educated at Princeton where he graduated in 1835, Bacon College in Georgetown, Ky., and the University of Maryland where he studied law.² Admitted to the bar, he practised law in Maryland until after the outbreak of the war with Mexico, May 11, 1846.

Commissioned a captain of Infantry on February 23, 1847, James Archer, with his brother Bob,³ recruited in different parts of Maryland until May

¹ For this and all other information on the Archer family not otherwise noted, the editor is indebted to Mr. J. G. D. Paul, the present owner of "Rock Run," who kindly lent the only copy of an unpublished notebook, "An Outline of the Archer Genealogy," kept by George Washington Archer, hereafter referred to as "Archer Genealogy."

² *D. A. B.* (New York, 1928), I, 340, gives Princeton and Bacon College in Georgetown, Kentucky, as Archer's alma maters. *The General Catalogue of Princeton University, 1746-1906* (Princeton, 1908), lists "James Jay Archer" as a graduate of the class of 1835, and notes that he received an LL.B. at the University of Maryland (p. 147). There is no mention of Jay in the "Archer Genealogy" either as surname or given name.

³ Robert Harris Archer was born May 20, 1820, the ninth child of John and Ann Archer. He married Ellen Howe Davis on February 23, 1853, and died March 12, 1878. "Archer Genealogy."

Robert H. Archer was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry March 4, 1847, transferred to the Voltigeurs April 9, 1847, and was honorably mustered out August 31, 1848.

In the Civil War, R. H. Archer first enlisted in Captain George H. Gaither's company of Maryland Confederate Cavalry as a private, but was soon appointed lieutenant colonel in the 55th Virginia Infantry. Wounded and captured at Gettysburg, he was imprisoned for a time at Johnson's Island with his older brother, James J. Archer.

("Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army" by Francis B. Heitman. II Vols., Washington, D. C., 1903). I. 168 (hereafter Heitman); Archer Letters, Md. Hist. Soc.

5, 1847, when their command, a portion of the Voltigeurs, assembled at Fort McHenry for embarkation.

After landing at Vera Cruz, the Voltigeurs were assigned to Major General Gideon Johnson Pillow's division and marched under General Winfield Scott towards Mexico City where on August 20 the battles of Contreras and Churubusco were fought. Following some two weeks of armistice, hostilities were renewed September 8 in the American assault against El Molino del Rey, followed on September 13, 1847, by the assault on the castle of Chapultepec. For his gallantry "and meritorious conduct" at Chapultepec, James J. Archer was brevetted major, and also cited by the Legislature of the State of Maryland.⁴

The letters following describe life with the army in Mexico after most of the fighting had ceased, and help to illuminate that most-neglected of all American wars.

Following his discharge in August, 1848, James J. Archer returned to Harford County and took up his civilian pursuits again. In March of 1855, however, he accepted a commission as captain in the newly-formed 9th Infantry Regiment and left with them via Panama and California for Washington Territory on December 14, 1855. The next six years were spent on duty in Washington and Oregon, serving in various capacities and in several different garrisons.

In the spring of 1861, Archer, along with many other men of Southern leanings, resigned his captain's commission in the United States Army, but a strong sense of duty kept him at his post until July when he finally was enabled to turn over his command. Making his way overland by Salt Lake City to St. Louis and thence to Louisville and Nashville, Archer did not arrive in Richmond until late August.

First commissioned a captain in the Provisional Army, Confederate States, his career as an infantry officer in the Army of Northern Virginia was a distinguished one, but is a story of its own. Captured at Gettysburg, and not exchanged until August of 1864, General Archer died in Richmond, October 24th, 1864, of the effects of ill health aggravated by his imprisonment at Johnson's Island.

The collection of letters in the Maryland Historical Society includes twenty in the years before 1855, 115 from Washington Territory in the years 1855 to July 1861, and 87 items from July 12, 1861 to October 16, 1864. In the letters selected here, punctuation and spelling have been untouched. They are printed as in the originals.

⁴ *Md. Hist. Mag.*. XII, 201. Robert H. Archer was also thanked by the General Assembly of Maryland for "intrepid and gallant conduct in all the battles of the Valley of Mexico."

Warwick

March 24th 1847

My dear Mother

I heard from home last night for the first time since I left you: you can well imagine how welcome Nannie's ⁵ letter was—I even stopped in the hope of receiving, at the post office proper I drove up to this delightful place of sojourn, of which I had already experienced the comforts & charms on my way down the shore—But really the plan has some good points—Mrs. Bolten is a very kind accommodating old lady and makes the best coffee I ever drank at any Hotel: I will say nothing about her pretty daughter for fear of exciting your apprehensions that she may keep me from going to Mexico.

The first night after I left you I spent at Chesapeake City; its description I must reserve until I see you again.

I got on to Chestertown Tuesday to Centreville Wednesday where I staid all night but finding it no place for enlisting men I resigned myself to the hospitalities, and tried but without success to enlist some of the ladies.

Henry Wright who wishes to go to Mexico with me as a sergeant accompanied me on my way Millington where he left me Saturday eveng—Millington would have been very dull had I not met there Mr. Dulany of Baltimore and Dr. Power an Irishman who was for some time an engineer on the Charleston & Cincinnati rail road and afterwards chief engineer of the Eastern Shore road; He was intimately acquainted with Alex. Mathison—Power came to see me twice every day and made the time pass quite pleasantly; I spent an evening at home where I was entertained by old Mr. Power (his father) who played all the old Irish melodies.

I arrived at Warwick yesterday and shall go home next Sunday with the intention of remaining until Thursday

Your affectionate

Son

J. J. Archer

P. S. I forgot to mention that my cough left me last Monday apparently with the greatest reluctance at parting from so agreeable a companion; I do not think it would have gone then if it had not completely worn its welcome out.

⁵ Ann Herrman Archer was born Oct. 1, 1822, the tenth child of John and Ann Archer. Nannie, as she was affectionately called by her brother, married Oliver Hough Thomas, and died June 30, 1882: "Archer Genealogy."

[On back of letter]

Warwick Md March 25

Mrs. Ann Archer

United States Hotel

Philadelphia Pa

If Mrs Archer is not at the U. S. Hotel will Mr. West please send this to Jone's City Hotel J. J. A.

Mr. Bridges will please have this letter handed to Mrs. Archer

Jno West

Baltimore

May 5th 1847

Sir

You will immediately on receipt of this break up your Rendezvous at Washington & Alexandria, and bring your recruits and recruiting party to Fort McHenry, with all the clothing you took out with you

Yours & &

J. J. Archer

Capt U. S. Voltigeurs

To

2ⁿ Lt R. H. Archer
U. S. Voltigeurs

[On reverse side]

On public service

2nd Lt R. H. Archer
U. S. Voltigeurs
Washington
D. C.

Baltimore

May 5th 1847

Dr Bob

Major Barnum has directed me to Break up my Rendezvous in Baltimore and to order all my Lieutenants to close theirs and proceed to Fort McHenry—Allowing that you have recruited 14 I have forty six men: a draft is to be made on the recruiting officers of the old regiments in Philadelphia to make out our complement of eighty men and a vessel has

allready been chartered to carry us on wednesday next to Vera Crus where we will meet Col. Andrews ⁶ and the rest of the regiment.—I would not spend any more private funds in the recruiting service if you have been doing so since you left Port Deposit

The government is now \$150 dollars in my debt according to my accounts and vouchers over and above my pay which I have not yet drawn nor received the blanks for. Please get them for me and send them on immediately—

I am in want of the funds and my accounts will not be returned to me nor the money I have advanced remitted for perhaps a month—But my pay will be furnished as soon as I make the proper requisition

J. J. Archer

DIRECCION
del
COLEGIO NACIONAL
de
MINERIA.

City of Mexico
Dec 8th 1847

My dear Bob.

The Drs. either deceived us or were very much mistaken with regard to the time of my recovery—this evening makes six weeks that I have been lying here on my back but thank God I shall be entirely well in a couple of days more—

My time has passed as pleasantly as could be expected under the circumstances. My friends have been coming often to see me Col. Bonham ⁷ Gen Pillow Capt Ridgely,⁸ Getty,⁹ Hardcastle,¹⁰ Ker, Reno ¹¹ indeed all

⁶ Timothy Patrick Andrews, a native of Ireland, was appointed colonel of the Regiment of Voltigeurs and Foot Riflemen on February 16, 1847, five days after its organization, and served in that capacity until July 20, 1848. Remaining in the army, Col. Andrews served as deputy paymaster general, and was paymaster general at his retirement November 29, 1864. He died March 11, 1868. Heitman, I, 143; 167.

⁷ Milledge Luke Bonham of Edgefield District, South Carolina, was born Dec. 25, 1813, attended South Carolina College and practised law when not actively engaged in the army or in politics. He served as a captain of South Carolina volunteers in the Seminole Indian wars, lieutenant colonel, commanding the Twelfth Regiment Infantry during the Mexican War, and as a brigadier general, C. S. A., during the Civil War. He also served as a member of the Confederate Congress and as a wartime governor of South Carolina. He died August 27, 1890. *D. A. B.*, II, 436.

⁸ Probably Captain Samuel Chase Ridgely of Maryland. Samuel Chase Ridgely graduated from West Point, served in the artillery, was promoted to captain February 16, 1847, and was brevetted major August 20, 1847, for "gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco." He died July 6, 1859. Randolph Ridgely of Maryland was brevetted captain 9 May, 1846 for gallantry in the earlier battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, Texas, but was acci-

my acquaintances have been very attentive. Gen^ls Pillow & Worth ¹² were placed under arrest a short time after you left I don't know on what account. I believe though it is because some of their friends have been writing some foolish letters descriptive of the late battles and awarding all the merit of the victories to them—and Scott believing that they procured the letters to be written intended to have them tried for violation of the regulation which forbids the publication of all accounts of military operations by officers of the army, Capt. Dobbins has been court Marshalled and cashiered.—

Dr. Clark ¹³ came up yesterday he seemed as glad to get amongst us again as you were to meet them all at home (Indeed my dear fellow I envy you your welcome at Rock Run)

There is some talk of either our's or the Mounted Rifles being sent to Querataro (pronounced Ka-ra-ta-ro) when the Mexican Congress is in session—You have I suppose already heard of the death of Henderson Ridgely he was killed in an attack on the lancers after have given proof of the greatest gallantry in several skirmishes I had looked forward with much pleasure to meeting him here—Winder,¹⁴ Walker ¹⁵ and Ridgely the only officers below, whom I knew have been killed—Houghrey who lost his leg at Chapultepec died the next day after you left—This makes

dentally killed in a fall from his horse in October, 1846. The death of another Maryland Ridgely on November 24, 1847, in action at Pass Gualaxara, Mexico is mentioned in this same letter. Heitman, I, 830.

⁹ George Washington Getty, a graduate of West Point, served in the artillery and was brevetted captain for gallantry in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco. A regular officer and native of Washington, D. C., Getty chose to remain with the Union and served with much distinction as a brigadier general and major general of volunteers during the Civil War. He retired as a colonel, commanding the 4th Regiment Artillery, October 2, 1883, and died October 1, 1901. Heitman, I, 452.

¹⁰ Edmund La Fayette Hardcastle was born in Denton, Caroline County, Md., 18 October, 1824, and graduated from West Point fifth in the famous class of 1846. Following service in the Mexican War during which he was twice brevetted, he served as captain of engineers working on the Mexican Boundary Commission and later the Lighthouse Board, until his retirement before the Civil War. He settled in Talbot County where he lived out a useful life, dying in 1899. *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Maryland and D. C.* (Baltimore, 1879). 586, and The Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹¹ Jesse Lee Reno, a graduate of the class of 1846 at West Point, was brevetted twice for bravery during the Mexican War, and remained in the Regular Army until appointed a brigadier general of volunteers in 1861. He was killed in action September 14, 1862, at the battle of South Mountain, Md. Heitman, I, 823.

¹² For an account of the life of William Jenkins Worth (1794-1849). See *D. A. B.*, XX, 536-537.

¹³ Dr. James L. Clarke of Virginia was the assistant surgeon for the Voltigeurs. Heitman, I, 307.

¹⁴ Second Lieutenant James Murray Winder, a Marylander, died Sept. 6, 1847 of wounds received in action at the National Bridge, Mexico, on August 19, 1847, while serving in the Voltigeurs. Heitman, I, 1049.

¹⁵ Samuel Hamilton Walker was born in Maryland and served as a captain and lieutenant colonel of Texan mounted rangers in 1846. He was killed in action at the battle of Huamantla, Mexico, on October 9, 1847. Heitman, I, 997.

my loss at Chapultepec out of 32 men—1 killed—2 mortally wounded since dead—2 severely & 3 slightly wounded

You had scarcely gone before an order came from head quarters [omission] me to take command of my company as soon as able this superseding the orders to recruit—[omitted] is transferred to Capt. Biddle¹⁶ & his Company with some of Capt. Edward's turned over to me. Gardner has got his discharge & Long has his place My Company is decidedly the best regiment. All the officers of the Regt desire to be remembered to you—Give my love to all at home.

Tell John Finley & Oliver Thomas to write to me.

You thought of resigning if you do I hope you will go into business with John Finley—But if your health permits remain in the Regt.—Vernon has left it Longnecker, Smythe, Blake & Woolford will certainly resign with probably others who have never joined the regt. Your chance of promotion is very fair—Walker of Arkansas is appointed in Bowie's place he ranks below all the other Capts.

Bob Forsythe who is writing to you will give all the news that I have not given

Good bye

Yours affectionately

J. J. Archer

P. S. I received a letter from Capt. instead of leaving our trunks where I directed he left with Messrs. Palmer & Whitney Ship Chandlers & grocers I am afraid you did not get yours, if you write for it caution him against sending mine.

Colegio de Minería
City of Mexico
Dec. 8th 1847

Dr Brother

Fearing that some of the best letter writers might have mentioned that I was wounded I directed bob to write as soon as he reached New Orleans inform[ing] you exactly how I was—

Bob will be surprised to learn that I have not been able to leave my bed yet When he left I expected to be up in eight or ten days—But my wound although never at all dangerous is not entirely well yet—I shall be quite well however in a couple of days more

I had a good deal of trouble getting Bob's leave of absence owing to the opposition of Col. Andrews who had taken up the notion that no

¹⁶ Charles John Biddle of Pennsylvania was brevetted major for gallantry at Chapultepec and was honorably discharged in August, 1848. At the outbreak of Civil War, he was colonel of the 13th Pennsylvania, resigning in December, 1861. Heitman, I, 216.

officers of the ten regiments ought to receive a leave of absence on account of any sickness or wounds incurred in the course of the campaign but that if he became disabled for as long a time as three months he ought to resign to make room for another. He had made a rule to approve no application which was not accompanied by a promise to resign on getting home—I told him that all who were going under that condition were going under unpleasant circumstances charges of misconduct, cowardice etc. That Bobs conduct in the march and in the late battles entitled him to go home on leave and he would receive no other that he (Col Andrews) had no right to make any such conditions and that if he did not approve the application I would take an appeal.

When I called on him however for his endorsement of disapproval he much to my surprise endorsed it favorably and after spending an hour or or two with him we parted in the best possible humor with each other—Col Andrews afterwards accepted a leave on the same terms which Bob had refused—How is it Henry that you who are fond of writing and who used to write to me so often as if it was a pleasure to do so, have written but two short letters since I left home.

I am very sorry that you took no steps to secure the nomination for congress which believe you could easily have done. I would have willingly staid at home myself if it would have enabled you to avail yourself of the opportunity which I fear will not again occur . . .

There have been so many erroneous accounts of the part the different regiments took in the battle of Chapultepec and the voltigeurs not having taken any pains to write themselves into notice as many others have done claiming for themselves what they never performed, and leaving out all mention of us that if I do not tell you now, I am afraid I will be persuaded that we were not in the battle at all.

I will therefore give an outline of our share in the business.

On the morning of the 13th the voltigeurs opened the fight the right wing under Col. Andrews & Major Caldwell¹⁷ entering the wood on the left—and the left wing (of which my company was one) under Col. Johnstone¹⁸ entering the enclosure by a breach in the wall on the right were ordered to deploy as skirmishers, clear the wood of the enemy & halt at the edge of the wood until the storming party came up & we were to let them pass us and assault the castle whilst we remain'd in this position. Keeping up a constant fire upon the castle in front of the breach by which

¹⁷ Major George A. Caldwell of Kentucky was brevetted lieutenant colonel for his part in this action, and was honorably mustered out August 25, 1848. Heitman, I, 273.

¹⁸ Joseph Eccleston Johnston of Virginia had a distinguished career in the United States Army following his graduation from West Point in 1829. He was Lieutenant Colonel of the Voltigeurs from April 9, 1847 to August 28, 1848. Resigning his commission as brigadier general, and quartermaster general, April 22, 1861, his career as one of the ranking officers in the Confederate Army is well known.

In 1845 Johnston had married Lydia McLane of Maryland, and after his death in 1891, he was buried in the McLane plot in Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore. *D. A. B.*, X, 144-146; Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

our left wing entered, was a mud fort—In carrying this, which we did by running into it as soon as they commenced firing, and without firing a shot ourselves, I had three men shot down—following through the breach, we entered the wood, and immediately deploying, united with the right wing, which entered by a different way at the same time, drove the enemy out of the wood into the little forts on the side of the hill, and took our position in the east line of trees, which, according to orders, we were not to leave during the fight. In a few minutes after we cleared the wood, the storming party came on, passed through our extended files and advanced half way up the hill and halted halted confused under the storm of grape and musketry which met them, our regiment then rushed forward, took the lead ~~(and kept it)~~ [scratched out] became itself the storming party, and the Voltigeur flag was the first that waved over the walls of Chapultepec

Capt. Howard ¹⁹ was the first over the walls—I carried but 32 men into this engagement of them I lost in Killed & wounded 8

Give my love to mother & all at home

Yours & C

J. J. Archer

[On back page]

If Bob is not at home you can break open his letter before sending it to him.

Toluca

Mexico March 2nd 1848

Dr Mother

I have just recovered from a severe attack of ear-ache & sore throat, which has Kept me in my room ever since the date of my letter to Bob—during the month of March, nearly every body in Toluca suffers more or less from swelled tonsils—Every officer of the Reg^t has had a swelled face or sore throat—

Since I have got well I have found Toluca a very pleasant place

I have a very good suite of rooms, which Dr. Clarke occupies with me instead of taking his own quarters at the hospital—We have been living together ever since we left Fort McHenry except during the time that he was left at Perote to be cured of a wound received at En Cerro—Our mess is just the right number, consisting of Lts. Cross ²⁰ & Leigh ²¹ Dr. Clarke

¹⁹ Captain John Eager Howard of Maryland was the grandson of Colonel John Eager Howard, Revolutionary patriot and Governor of Maryland. He was brevetted major for this action, and was voted the thanks of the Maryland Legislature for "gallant conduct in our recent brilliant and successful struggle with Mexico." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XII, 222.

²⁰ Alexander H. Cross of Washington, D. C., served with Archer in the Voltigeurs. Later Cross served in the 2nd Cavalry. Heitman, I, 341.

²¹ John Wickham Leigh of Virginia was brevetted captain for gallantry in several

& myself—My quarters are not exactly equal to those I left at Gen^l Tornel's house with their rich carpets, furniture and pictures—I found these rooms entirely unfurnished with naked brick floors, but I have bought some chairs, had some fine tables made, and covered the floor with mats, so that it is beginning to have quite an *elegant* appearance—I have nothing in the world to do with housekeeping, Sidney makes out his estimates, and receives the money for the expenditures of each month, and gives us much better dinners & at as little cost as any other mess in the regiment—I never have to ask for any thing or give him any directions, but always find everything just as I want it, indeed he does great credit to your bringing up—Swan²² with some of the good luck he is born to has been invited to live and is now living with a Mexican gentleman, in the most luxurious style—he extended the invitation to me also but his daughters are not pretty and I preferred living as I do—

Do you recollect Col. Manning whom we met at the White Sulphur Springs, who was at College with me, and afterwards married Wade Hampton's daughter—he has been nominated for Governor of South Carolina and is about to put an end to his widowerhood by marrying Dr. Clarke's sister—

Tell Bob that Major Hunter is about to be tried for repeated acts of ungentlemanly & unofficer-like conduct, which if proved will be very apt to break him

Major Burns Pamaster will certainly be dismissed—I have just heard of the resignation of Woolford: the adjutant told me this morning that he has received the acceptance of his & Vernon's resignations—Vernon has been fool enough to make his disgrace more public by sending, to the Louisville journal, a false flimsy letter to vindicate himself

Fitzhugh has not yet received, and I am afraid will not receive the brevet Lieutenancy for which he was recommended he is very anxious to go home and I made application this morning for his discharge

I received the other day letters from Kake and Henry,²³ dated Feb. 5th and 7th; a mail came in yesterday from Vera Cruz bringing letters for most of the officers—but none of me

I think that were there are so many of you *who have been taught to write* that you might send me a letter at least once a week

Sidney is always very much pleased with any message from home; he seems to remember you very affectionately and asks every time I write to remind you of him

I think there is no possibility of our going home before the fall. Even should the treaty now on foot, be ratified, the army would only go to

affairs with guerrillas at Paso Ovejas National Bridge and Cerro Gordo, Mexico, and was mustered out August 31, 1848. During the Civil War, Leigh served as a major in the 4th Virginia Artillery, C. S. A. Heitman, I, 627.

²² Robert Swan of Maryland was a second lieutenant in the Voltigeurs. Heitman, I, 938.

²³ Probably Catherine Cassandra Archer, born Sept. 25, 1810, the fifth child of John and Ann Archer, and Henry Wilson Archer (1813-1887), the sixth child. "Archer Genealogy."

Jalapa, and there wait for the disappearance of the Vomits, before it would venture to Vera Cruz—

I remain as ever

Most affectionately

Yours

J. J. Archer

To

Mrs Ann Archer
Rock Run

Toluca, Mexico
Friday May 5th 1848

Dr Bob

I must Insist on your writing. I want you to tell me what you are doing, where you are, and how you like the life of an officer in a home garrison—I am anxious too to know particularly of your health—Lt. Frost said you were quite unwell, when he left. I wrote to Henry on the last of last month, the letter will not arrive, however, before this does—you can not therefore expect much news—A duel was fought on Wednesday between Lieutt. Lee and Harley both of the 11th Infty.—Harley had given Lee the lie—I was reques[ted] by the parties to be present on the occasion as a disinterested spectator

They fought at sundown near Lerma, with Voltigeur rifles at thirty paces—standing with their rifles slanting downwards at an angle of 45 degrees, and firing between the words “fire, one two, three, stop”—neither hit—after the first fire Lee’s friend Lt. Jackson²⁴ of the Lt. Artillery expressed himself satisfied and the parties left the ground without, however, any apology or retraction from Harley, who was very anxious for another shot—This he had no right to ask, having gone out to give, not to receive satisfaction and, when a man says he is satisfied, you can not well insist that he is not satisfied enough, especially when satisfying him any more might injure his health

Both parties came up to Toluca yesterday. Jackson & Lee had been invited to dine with me; when they came Harley who had arrived several hours before them, and who had been all the morning in my room, was asleep on my bed and never waked up until late in the evening after my company had gone. I believe they they spent the day as pleasantly together as if they had been the best friends in the world—My object in going on the ground was to prevent the fight from proceeding any farther than was necessary

²⁴ Lt. Thomas Jonathan (“Stonewall”) Jackson. For another account of this duel between Daniel Smith Lee of Virginia and Benjamin Franklin Harley of Philadelphia, see Lenoir Chambers, *Stonewall Jackson* (2 vol.; New York, 1959), I, pp. 139, 140.

Lt. Frost²⁵ says that you told him you heard that Col. Grahm of the 11th just before he was killed cursed his regiment for a pack of d—d cowards—I am sure he made use of no such expressions, the 11th I always understood behaved very handsomely on that occasion

It would be as well for you not to forget who you heard say so, if you told him We live very well in Toluca; the markets are always supplied with every Kind of fruit & vegetable, which the tropical or temperate region will produce, apricots, cantilopes, cherries pine apples &c, and for those who are fond of such luxuries they are also supplied with frogs water lizzards and tad-poles from the marshes about Lerma—Smythe still remains in the regiment although no one speaks to him except Frost—his term of suspension is out & he has reported to Capt. Jones²⁶ (in tempory comand of the regt) for duty, but every body is so much opposed to having him in their company, that Jones will not assign him until Col Johnstone returns from the city—You will be sorry to learn that Lt. Taplin, whom we were introduced to by Charles Finley, has turned out very badly—he got to gambling largely and drinking after he entered the city, and besides borrowing near fifteen hundred dollars from the officers of his regiment has drawn pay five times on his March pay-account—He was obliged to resign before it became generally Known, and leave the country to avoid a prosecution from the men who had discounted the pay accounts—he *had been* a great favorite with his regt.

There are said to be many officers of the Volunteer regts. in a similar situation.

I had a very pleasant visit of about twenty days to Mexico, a short time since—Cross and I took a room at the Progreso, where we also boarded Sydney having remaind at Toluca, we could not well live at the quarters assigned us by the Qrm. Cross, when I left, moved into the quarters of his Uncle Maj. Cross which are very handsome and commodious.

Major Polk²⁷ has taken the house vacated by Gen^l Pillow, and invites me to live with him whenever I am in the city—I shall certainly accept as soon as I have a chance—Steiner, Hardcastle, Ritchey and all your friends in the city enquired after you

Clarke desires me to send *his love* Van Kleck has gone home; the lady of the five Fs. whom he used to talk so much about, having died one day, Mexico became distasteful to him, and he immediately packed up his and “*vamoused*”—Fry has just come in to tell me that the mail for Vera Cruz, which was to have closed to-night, will remain open until tomorrow night, in order to allow us to receive our letters, which are coming tomorrow

²⁵ Second Lieutenant James A. Frost of Maryland was transferred to the Voltigeurs at the same time as Archer, was promoted to first lieutenant Dec. 31, 1847, and was honorably mustered out August 25, 1848. Heitman, I, 438.

²⁶ Captain John Jones, a Georgian, was a cadet at West Point from July, 1832 to February, 1833. He was commissioned a captain of infantry February, 1847, and transferred to the Voltigeurs in April, 1847. Heitman, I, 581.

²⁷ William Hawkins Polk of Tennessee was a major in the Third Regiment of Dragoons from the 31st of August, 1847 to July 20, 1848, when he was honorably mustered out of service. Heitman, I, 796.

from home, before we finish writing I am confident of receiving a large package of them and shall therefore stop until I hear from you and then go on

May 7th

The mail arrived last night bringing one letter from Mary²⁸ & a package of newspapers from Henry—There is a quorum in both houses of the Mexican Congress and peace stock has risen—Cross came home this morning at about day break he says that every body in the city is sure of an immediate peace

Your affectionate

brother

J. J. Archer

Toluca Mexico

May 27th 1848

Dr Bob.

As you will probably come in contact with Smythe I must tell you exactly the position in which he stands—

After his tryal was over Marvin gave use a full account of his behaviour on the 11th 12th & 13th of September it was most conclusive as to his cowardice and to make it more so Smythe had full information that Marvin²⁹ denounced him as a coward without taking any notice whatever of the charge—Marvin & Blair both declared their belief that he had stolen money from their trunks at the Minería and since then Dr. Bryarly whom you know informed one of our officers that Smythe was sent away from school for stealing money

He has resigned because he could not remain in the regiment, and gone home, his resignation to take effect three months from the time of his application which was some wheres about the first of May—He would be none too good to wear the uniform of the regiment after his resignation takes effect—cut his buttons off if he attempts to do it in Baltimore

I am dear brother

Very affectionately yrs

J. J. Archer

²⁸ Mary Archer, the third child of John and Ann Archer, was born April 2, 1808, and died unmarried December 19, 1882: "Archer Genealogy."

²⁹ Edwin C. Marvin was regimental quartermaster of the Voltigeurs at this time. Heitman, I, 694.

Smythe ceases to be an officer of the army on the 30th of July

Clark has just come in and desires to be most kindly remembered to you
[on back]

Lt. R. H. Archer
U. S. Army

Toluca, Mexico

May 27th 1848

Dear Mother

I expect to be with you again sometime next August—To-days mail brought in the news of the ratification of the treaty of peace, and orders from Gen^l Butler for our recall to the city of Mexico—It is said also that Gen^l Patterson's division had already left Mexico for Vera Cruz, and that Gen^l Lane will follow to-morrow—Ours is the 3^d division, and I suppose our stay in the city will be of the shortest

We will remain on the region of Jalapa until sufficient transportation is prepared, and embark from our tents, on the shore (where we will not be detained more than one or two nights) without entering Vera Cruz—by this plan, I think our men will generally escape the vomits—We will most probably be shipped direct to Baton Rouge in Louisiana, where the soldiers, who have enlisted for the period of the war, will be mustered out of the service; and then as soon as my company is discharged I will strike a *bee* line for Old Rock Run, about as poor and as happy as the Scotch soldier in Mammy Jenny's old song—There is however one great damper to our joy at the thought of going home—Lt. Fry,³⁰ one of the best fellows in the regiment, will die before we start. He was adjutant of the regiment until after the battles of Contreras & Churubusco when he resigned on account of his dislike to Col Andrews—he has been suffering from chills ever since his arrival in the country but would not consent to leave until he had seen some battles—I think he would have applied for leave of absence since our arrival in Toluca but for a letter he received from his mother which mortified him very much—she spoke of the prospect of peace, of course she was glad of it, but sorry on his account since he would thereby lose the opportunity of distinguishing him-

³⁰ First Lieutenant Birkett D. Fry of Virginia was a graduate of V.M.I., and had studied at Washington College, Pennsylvania, and the United States Military Academy. He was admitted to the bar in Virginia at the beginning of the war with Mexico, but accepted a commission in the Regular Army as first lieutenant of infantry. For his service with the Voltigeurs the state of Virginia presented him with a sword.

Contrary to Archer's belief, Fry did not die in Mexico. In fact, as a brigadier general, C. S. A., Fry was given command of Archer's brigade at the second battle of Cold Harbor in 1864, having led what was left of that same brigade after Archer's capture at Gettysburg the year before. *D. A. B.*, VII, 46.

self "as Lt. Blakey had done"—no man behaved more handsomely than Fry in all the actions to "think" he said "that my mother should believe that d—d fellow Blakey deserved more of his country than I did and to hold *him* up as an example for me"—He was determined to stay and pray for another fight when he would endeavour to satisfy her

The order to march on Tuesday next has knocked in the head our proposed expedition to the Volcan de Toluca; we shall all be too busy preparing our companies to think of such a thing

Sydney is perfectly delighted at the idea of going home

Continue to write for the nearer I am to home the more anxious I am to hear from you—Instead of directing to *Mexico*, just say "Quartermaster at New Orleans will please forward"

Most affectionately yours

J. J. Archer

I received Nancy's & Henry's letters of the 21 & 22nd of April

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Massachusetts People and Politics, 1919-1933. By J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER. Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. x, 328 pp. \$6.50.

Scholarly preoccupation with the Progressive and New Deal periods has resulted in a skimping of the intervening years—a period far more significant than frothy history focused on flappers and hip flasks would suggest. Politically the Twenties seemed a decade of overwhelming Republican supremacy, yet the wave of the future was Democratic, as events after 1928 proved. Why this was so becomes much clearer through Dr. Huthmacher's careful analysis of Massachusetts politics from 1919 to 1933.

To an unusual degree, Bay State politics revolved around the conflicting aspirations of different elements in the population. In Huthmacher's analysis, the term "old stock" includes not only Protestant native Yankees but Protestant British, Scandinavian, and German immigrants and their descendants. All other elements in the population he calls "Newer Americans." But the "Newer Americans" are, in turn, divided between the Irish and the "New Immigrants," a term used by Huthmacher in a somewhat unusual fashion to include not only South and East Europeans but French-Canadians as well. This usage, though serviceable in that it explains the frequent tensions between the Irish and the other groups, is sometimes misleading. For example, the New Immigrants of the conventional terminology had obvious reason to resent the discriminatory immigration laws of the 1920's, but the French-Canadians were not affected by them. It should also be pointed out that "old stock" and "Newer Americans" as defined in the body of Huthmacher's text do not exactly coincide in meaning with the same terms as used in the statistical analyses of the Appendix.

To quibble over these matters, however, would be unfair because it is usually clear what the author means in a particular context, and the story he has to tell is a highly interesting one.

Before 1920 the Massachusetts alignment was relatively simple: most of the Irish were Democrats; most of the old-stock elements were Republicans. The New Immigrants, though largely Catholic, did not invariably love the Irish. Capitalizing on these jealousies, the Republicans doled out to the New Immigrants just enough scraps of patronage to maintain dominance.

The Progressive movement divided the Republicans temporarily, thus opening the way for the election of the Democrat David I. Walsh to the governorship in 1913 and to the United States Senate in 1918. But this

premature Democratic upsurge was halted by the controversy surrounding Wilson's League of Nations, highly unpopular with most of the Newer Americans. In the election of 1920 the Democrats went down to shattering defeat.

During the early 1920's Republican ascendancy became fatally associated in Newer American minds with such detested developments as prohibition, discriminatory immigration quotas, and Ku Kluxism. Moreover, the Republican claim to be the party of prosperity provoked bitter laughter in a state where the all-important textile and shoe industries were in serious trouble. Walsh, defeated in the Republican landslide of 1924, won back a Senate seat in 1926—definite evidence that the Massachusetts Democrats were regrouping their forces.

The Newer Americans idolized Al Smith, and great was their enthusiasm in 1928 when their hero captured the Democratic Presidential nomination. For the first time since the organization of the Republican party the Massachusetts electoral vote was cast for the Democrats. Four years later the Walsh-Ely organization still remained intensely loyal to Smith despite James M. Curley's effort on Franklin D. Roosevelt's behalf. For a time the bitterness left by the Democratic primary fight raised Republican hopes, but in the end the new economic issues created by the depression united the party, and Roosevelt carried the state.

Despite these great Democratic victories, Republican prospects for the future were by no means hopeless. This rise of able new leaders, the acceptance of a moderately liberal program, and a stronger effort to recruit Newer American support all helped to restore a healthy balance between the two parties.

In emphasizing the influence of the Newer Americans, Huthmacher provides a highly realistic picture of Massachusetts politics. Occasionally, in the reviewer's opinion, he carries his thesis too far, as, for example, in treating prohibition primarily as a program by which the old-stock elements tried to "Americanize" the immigrants. Moreover, over-emphasis on the ethnic element in politics prevents the author from considering the influence of particular personalities. However different in temperament Henry Cabot Lodge, Calvin Coolidge, David I. Walsh, and James M. Curley may have been, each in his own way played the game of politics with extraordinary skill.

Such case studies as this are not justified on the ground that one state provides a sample that is representative of the whole. It would be nearer the truth to say that the politics of each state are unique and that national politics are merely the aggregate of all these local situations. In carefully analyzing this particular part of the whole, Huthmacher has contributed materially to our understanding of general American history.

NELSON M. BLAKE

Syracuse University

Religion and American Democracy. By ROY F. NICHOLS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. vii, 108 pp. \$2.50.

This slender volume by the professor of American history in the University of Pennsylvania contains the Rockwell Lectures which he delivered at the Rice Institute. To the text proper there have been added two and a half pages of notes and four pages of bibliography, but not, unfortunately, an index. The two lectures are entitled "The Democracy of American Religion" (pp. 3-49) and "The Religion of American Democracy" (pp. 50-101). In the first Professor Nichols sketches the emergence of democratic measures in colonial history such as the admittance of representatives of the towns to the general court of Massachusetts Bay Colony after these towns had balked at the theocratic rule of the Boston ministers, and the removal from that colony of groups who departed to establish independent settlements due to their discontent with the religious situation in Massachusetts. This religious self-assertion was also manifested by certain groups who moved to a new location within the same jurisdiction as, for example, that of Abraham Pierson and Robert Treat whose migrant congregation remained within Carteret's East Jersey colony and yet were responsible for the establishment of Newark, New Jersey (p. 23).

Due consideration is given by the author to the Spanish colonies of the southern borderlands in a sympathetic account (pp. 41-47); he apparently did not find enough evidence of democratic action and ideas among the French settlements in and around the Great Lakes, the Illinois Country, and Louisiana to warrant including them. Major stress is laid upon New England with relatively little on Maryland, although Calvert's colony is credited—without explanation—for having made "a notable contribution to the democratic concept of religious freedom, particularly by its Toleration Act of 1649" (pp. 28-29). While there is little that is essentially new in this lecture it is a pleasant and readable account and the only point of fact that the reviewer would question was whether, as Nichols says, all the presidents since Washington have followed his practice of giving thanks to God in their message to Congress for the blessings that have been given to this country (p. 40). Incidentally, Juan de Oñate who accomplished the conquest of New Mexico was a layman, not a priest (p. 44).

According to Professor Nichols, religion has not only molded the institutional forms of American democracy; it has infused the nation's polity to the extent that democracy itself has come "to resemble a religion" (p. 50). With that initial sentence the author gives his reader the clue to the second lecture wherein the second Great Awakening receives major emphasis for its profound and lasting influence in opening wide the path to salvation for all who sought it, a striking departure from the narrow and exclusive Calvinist doctrine that dominated the religious life of so much of early America. In this emphasis the author feels that he is rescuing a neglected aspect of American history since so many have failed to give proper consideration to the "widespread and really tremend-

our experience which influenced and altered the lives of such a multitude" (p. 59).

There can be little doubt of the serious influence of the Arminian Revolution, to use Nichols' term, but to say that the doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God was something new is to overlook the fact that this doctrine had been taught by the Catholic Church since the first century A.D. Its emergence in the framework of the second Great Awakening had, indeed, a deep significance for the American political order by way of strengthening the trend toward democracy, but it was scarcely a new doctrine. Professor Nichols has illustrated how these democratic religious beliefs took root in the United States by employing a series of quotations from children's books used widely among the major Protestant denominations (pp. 65-80), a feature that contributes to his work its most original pages. Professor Nichols traces briefly the development of the "moral imperative" that was found underlying these children's books up to and through the Civil War. The war itself is seen as a sort of religious crusade in the minds of many of the participants. And here the author would have found illustrative material for his point in the works of Father Abram Ryan whose war ballads were so widely sung by the Confederates during and after the conflict. The final seven pages (pp. 95-101) are devoted to the period since Appomattox which is too brief a space in which to say anything really significant about a subject of this kind.

The prime weakness of the second lecture, however, in the mind of this reviewer is Nichols' failure to define at the outset the prime function of religion which is to worship God and to help men attain their eternal salvation. True, he was not treating religion as such; but the distinction between real religion and the "moral imperative" working its way into a rather vague national belief with religious connotations should have been made clear. No one will deny that this element has been present in American life, and Professor Nichols handles its principal ingredients satisfactorily enough, although it scarcely warrants the conclusion that it "may well insure American salvation in that it resembles religion" (p. 99). When one speaks of a people's faith, it is pertinent to ask: faith in what? If it be faith in democracy as a form of government, all well and good; and if that belief in democracy has about it certain religious overtones, no harm need necessarily follow. But it is important for both the churches and the state to keep in mind that this is not religion properly so called, nor is there any reason for anticipating that its cultivation will insure the salvation of the nation. In that sense we Americans of the mid-twentieth century could well do with a little more of the genuinely theological-mindedness and religious practice that characterized the colonizers of the seventeenth century.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The Catholic University of America

Ireland and the American Emigration 1850-1900. By ARNOLD SCHRIER.
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958. x, 210 pp.
\$4.50.

As the author states in his preface much has been written about the Irish immigrant and his contribution to American Society, but relatively little attention has been paid to the effect of the Irish emigrant on Ireland. In this volume Professor Schrier has helped to fill this void in a concise, well documented study.

Professor Schrier sets himself two tasks; one, an analysis of the effect on Ireland of emigration to the United States; and two, the influences which reached back to Ireland from America.

After a brief background analysis of the causes and characteristics of Irish emigration and the factors that directed the tide to America the author undertakes the first of his major tasks. This he breaks down into three chapters. In the first, entitled "The Futile Protest," the reaction of the press and the Irish Catholic Church to emigration is described. All groups were unanimous in agreeing that emigration was unfortunate but when the causes for it were discussed, differing opinion developed. Nationalists felt that the major cause for Ireland's ills lay with the land system and British rule. Anti-nationalists on the other hand felt that the lack of industry was the major cause, and that nationalist agitation served to frighten away investment capital. In the second chapter, "The Visible Result," Schrier analyzes the influences of emigration on Irish economy. This he feels was not an adverse one since it served as a safety valve for population pressure and helped reduce the surplus of labor. It also made possible the consolidation of small uneconomic landholdings and aided the change in agriculture from tillage to pasturage. In the third chapter, "The Invisible Result," the various cultural influences of the emigration are discussed. Outstanding among these was the "American Wake."

In part III Schrier deals with the second of his tasks. In the chapter "Alms and Agitation" the characteristics of the money remittances from America are considered. Of the \$250,000,000, some 40 per cent was in the form of prepaid passage tickets which served to finance over three-fourths of the total emigration from Ireland. The remaining 60 per cent was in the form of small individual amounts which precluded its effective use in solving basic economic problems. Relatively small amounts were sent to nationalist political organizations where, in a few cases, really effective work was done. The second, and final chapter in the study proper, deals with the occasional Irish who returned to the homeland and his role in further helping to familiarize the Irish with America.

Only one minor criticism might be voiced and that is the poor graphics used in the map (f. p. 36) showing Emigration Intensities. On the other hand Professor Schrier is to be commended for his inclusion, in an Appendix, of 19 tables giving quantitative information on various aspects of the Irish Emigration.

ARTHUR E. KARINEN

Chico College, California

The Family Quarrel: A Journey through the Years of the Revolution.

By ELSWYTH THANE. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959.
x, 308 pp. \$4.75.

Some of us will still prefer to take our Benson Lossing straight. But there was perhaps no commercial justification for a new edition of his *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, and in any case Miss Thane's light, attractive retelling will reach a new and wider audience.

It was 1848 when Benson Lossing set forth with pencils, notebooks, and a "strong, good-natured horse," Charley, to draw his dearborn wagon. His qualifications were a vivid historical curiosity, the energy to implement it, and the talent for drawing which enabled him to record in pictures as well as words. He had, too, a feeling of urgency.

"I knew that the men of old were fast fading away, and that relics associated with their trials and triumphs would soon be covered up forever. I felt shame such as every American ought to feel on seeing the plough levelling the breastworks where our fathers bled, and those edifices containing the council chambers of men who planned the attack, the ambuscade, or the retreat, crumbling into utter ruin."

Miss Thane's style is simpler to read, certainly.

"To collect the pictorial and other materials for this work," Mr. Lossing says, "I travelled more than eight thousand miles and visited every important place made memorable by the events of the war . . . , from New England to Georgia. . . ." Bless his heart, he really did. He drew pictures of everything, he interviewed everybody. If any of his judgments suffer it is from amiability. His book had a serious flaw, and one he recognized—the impossibility of synchronizing chronological and geographical order—but he helped to preserve the American Revolution like a fly in amber, and how much he helped in preserving those crumbling breastworks and edifices, too, nobody knows. We should be grateful to Miss Thane for helping to preserve him.

Miss Thane is a novelist rather than a scholarly historian, and she is inclined to scamp, to oversimplify, and to jump to conclusions after the manner of her kind. (She has her defects' virtues, too.) Marylanders will not like what she does to General Smallwood, nor Virginians her attitude toward Martha Jefferson; I myself cringe at her saying it is impossible to read Washington's writings "without falling a little in love with him." But nothing is very serious; and the average reader, for whom *The Family Quarrel* was surely intended, will not consider even the attractive title oversimplified.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

The Life and Works of Edward Greene Malbone, 1777-1807. By RUEL PARDEE TOLMAN. New York: The New York Historical Society, 1958. xxiii, 322 pp. \$12.50.

This publication puts under one cover all known information about Edward Greene Malbone and his work. He with perhaps a half dozen others at the turn of the century and for the quarter of a century before, would pass as first rate anywhere. This they did—not only in provincial America but in the “Great World.”

The late Mr. Tolman's *Preface* is clear, direct—all which should be said and no more, no less. Theodore Bolton's *Introduction* is also clear and concise—a good review of American miniature painting by date and by men. Chapter I of the main part of the volume treats of Malbone's *Parentage, Boyhood and Youth* and proves the old American saying “Three generations from shirt sleeves to shirtsleeves.” The boy Malbone himself is presented as charming, able, and with no artistic training. Chapter II, *Early Professional Life 1794-1801*, shows that he was not only a man of ability but one of character. The 1794 letter to his father seems “perfect” for its *genre*, when immediately after the father's death the young artist refused to go to England under excellent circumstances as he probably felt the responsibilities of the family.

The artist's short life is treated chronologically: after *Early Professional Life 1794-1801* comes *Middle Years 1801-1804* and Chapter IV treats of *The Final Years 1804-1807*. These present the life of a responsible and attractive young man in business in “Early” America of the 19th century in a most agreeable manner through the well-analyzed study of the very interesting now but probably then very casual *Account Book* kept by the painter from December 1801 to December 1806. From this book (here first reprinted in facsimile) we learn that in addition to family contributions and the necessities of daily life he had also a fine wardrobe, patronized what would now be called a “liquor dealer” (Malbone bought wine, brandy and porter) the theatre and the lottery, and bought “tack” for riding. We also find that shooting was a favorite pastime—he purchased a “Shooting dress,” “shooting apparatus” (in 1804 he paid \$6. for “a shooting and fishing party”) and lists his guns of varied types; in 1804 also he noted that his gun (silver fitted) was “gold brushed [\$]10.” This angle of the artist is “new” *via* the account book.

Of the works by or attributed to Malbone the mathematical estimates and ratios seem unsuitable as well as unnecessary and suppositious. Ample scope is thus offered for future hopeful attributions to Malbone when an unsigned work comes on the market. This is a useful opportunity for those who wish to dispose of an object well. One angle of the large number of recorded works unlocated is not noted: that is that a high percentage of the numerous Southern commissions was lost in the disaster of 1861-65.

Mr. Malbone has been fortunate in biographers—His friend and fellow artist Charles Fraser wrote the contemporary obituary, while a fellow artist Dunlap, with the help of Malbone's surviving sister, gave a fine account in the “History of the Arts of Design . . .”—Now the late Ruel Pardee

Tolman, a lifelong admirer of the man and artist Malbone was, has given a fine study of character and painter with an invaluable study of an expanded list of works made possible by the use of his own extensive files and the *Account Book*.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Charleston, S. C.

Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America. By CARL N. DEGLER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. xvi, 484 pp. \$6.00.

As Professor Degler tells us in his preface, this book is an attempt to answer the question: "How did Americans get to be the way they are in the middle of the twentieth century?" As such, it presents what might be considered a series of essays, united by a number of themes, dealing with those facets of American political, economic, social, and intellectual history which are felt to have been of crucial importance in molding the American tradition and the American national character. Thus, although the book spans the time from Jamestown to Eisenhower, it certainly is not just another textbook. In line with the author's objective, he is highly selective in the material he covers. A few of his chapter and sub-chapter titles indicate this scope and selectivity: Capitalism Came in the First Ships; The Awakening of American Nationality; A New King of Revolution; Jacksonian Liberalism; The Peculiar Institution; How Black Was Black Reconstruction; The Industrial Leviathan; Melting Pot or Salad Bowl?; The Lure of the City; The Farmer Comes of Age; The New Woman; The End of Laissez Faire; Was It a New or Old Deal?

The approach does have validity and merit, and certainly everyone who has ever taught American history would welcome the chance to write a volume giving his selection and interpretation of "The Forces That Shaped Modern America." Yet, it is obviously an ambitious undertaking, and therein lay the pitfalls. No one man can possibly be an expert on all phases and periods of American history—and thus little errors creep in. Degler, for example, refers to the Hat Act of "1773," and calls the sub-treasury plan "the Populists' favorite measure."

More important will be the criticism of the author's judgment in his choice of "forces" to be included in his discussion. Degler, for example, says almost nothing about American attitudes toward foreign relations. Surely many will think this a strange omission given the undeniable fact that, at mid-century, international affairs and the ability of our people and our traditions to master them, constitute the greatest test the nation has ever faced. Others will question Degler's complete slighting of the 1920's during which, as Lubell and others have shown, the emergence of the "minority" immigrant groups, with their demands for "recognition" and cultural pluralism, set the stage for much that is important in comprehending the conduct of American politics at the present time.

Finally, many will challenge the particular interpretations Degler adopts

concerning those events and forces which he *does* take up in his account. This reviewer is quite unsatisfied with his handling of the Progressive era, for instance, for reasons that would fill another review. Nor is his evaluation of the New Deal as "The Third American Revolution" altogether convincing. On a broader scale, others (though not this reviewer) will quarrel with his emphasis on the unity and agreement among Americans throughout our history (the "all Americans have been liberals" approach), with its consequent de-emphasis of political and economic conflict among American classes and interest groups.

One might be more satisfied with a book of this type written by a senior Schlesinger, a Dexter Perkins, a Nevins, or a Curti—scholars who have had more time to mull over the forces that shaped modern America, and who have been more exposed to basic source materials (very few of Degler's facts or interpretations are the result of original research on his part). But Degler has essayed the task and, despite the sort of drawbacks cited above, his book is interesting. It should prove particularly useful to students who are at an intermediate stage of study, and to general readers who have not been able to keep up with the flow of recent monographs and interpretative works produced by Boorstin, Louis Hartz, Kenneth Stampp, Woodward, Handlin, Hofstadter, Goldman, *et al.* Through Degler, one can gain an introduction to the thought of these scholars, although *Out Of Our Past* is, of course, no substitute for the reading of these seminal works which went into its making.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Georgetown University

Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton. By W. G. BEAN. Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1959. viii, 252 pp. \$5.00.

Reading the concluding chapters of *Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton* one is reminded of Thomas Gray and his "short and simple annals of the poor." Sandie died five days before he should have been twenty-four. That poverty which surrounded the infant, widow and mother of Sandie is revealed in the letter of the older woman to a daughter:

"Yesterday and today we dined on herbs. True to my resolution not to open the molasses until your father's return, we have it now in our scantest times."

Stonewall's Man is not a military record of the war. Rather it is the story of a young man who forsook graduate study for service on the battlefield and fell mortally wounded in September 1864. It is rich in revealing the ambitions and trials of officers of middle rank and the courageous optimism of the Confederate soldier. It shows changing attitudes towards looting and destruction, first eschewing but later accepting this practice as a "blow in the right direction." Presenting generous excerpts from contemporary letters the author permits us to know something of the difficulties of young lovers in time of war, of the burden of parents and

wives as they anxiously watched "all our pearls" poured out for "the purchase of freedom," and the struggle of neighbors and friends merely to survive.

A few minor errors appear. General Garnett on p. 53 should be General Winder.

In the opinion of this reviewer the author searching widely among private papers has made a signal contribution to the understanding of this period in terms of life at home and at the front.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

Western Maryland College

The Chevy Chase Club: A History, 1885-1957. By JOHN M. LYNHAM. Chevy Chase, Md., 1958. 127 pp.

This handsome and profusely illustrated history of one of Maryland's more famous clubs traces the evolution of a distinctive social organization from its inception as a hunt club, taking the place of the old Dumblane Hunt in 1892, to its modern role of country club and host to many of America's distinguished men. The course taken by the Chevy Chase Club is not untypical of that taken by many of the hunt clubs in the east and Maryland, in particular, but what is unusual is the munificence of the board of directors to allow such a complete and worth-while volume to be published.

Of the many clubs in Maryland, the South River Club can lay claim to the double distinction of having the longest continual life and a documented history, but equally famous clubs such as the Maryland Club and the Elkridge-Harford have never recorded their own interesting tales.

Any of the clubs in Maryland could take a lesson from this account of the Chevy Chase Club with its maps, anecdotes, lists of members, officers, and directors, and interesting photographs.

C. A. P. H.

Vogues in Villainy: Crime and Retribution in Ante-Bellum South Carolina. By JACK KENNY WILLIAMS. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959. 191 pp. \$5.00.

The Palmetto State was one of the last to stop branding murderers and thieves, the public whipping of white men, and the burning of Negroes. Its history in crime and punishment is, as such, certainly not always edifying. The reasons for its recalcitrance, however, are of interest to the social historian and warrant the concise, scholarly, and often humorous study of Dr. Williams.

Investigating the incidents and pattern of lawbreaking in ante-bellum South Carolina, Dr. Williams discards the traditional and too easily accepted causes advanced for crime in the South. Too many tippling

shops, the almost universal habit of carrying a bowie knife or a gun, the over-exuberant celebration of holidays, Court Week, and election campaigns, the combination of hot-blood and hot weather, the influx of wicked foreigners and travelers from other iniquitous states are analyzed and rejected. The real and unromantic reasons for crime, the author contends, were simply the poverty and lack of education of the poor whites, who represented the bulk of the lawbreakers.

The criminal type in this lower social strata defied classification, varying from juvenile delinquents and habitual pickpockets to pugnacious women like Fighting Sall, who would take all comers, male and female, in pitched battle. The types of crime: crimes against the person, against property, and against public morals, are, however, easily catalogued and analyzed by the author. Apprehension of the criminal, as delineated by Dr. Williams, smacks of the techniques of television Westerns with citizen posses, vigilance committees, beleaguered marshalls and sheriffs. Once captured, the criminal still had a good chance of regaining freedom, since the penal code was so outmoded and harsh, juries were reluctant to bring in a verdict of guilty. To remedy the complacency and hesitance of juries, extra-legal punishments were sometimes meted out by club and mob law. More important, there was an eventual effort to effect some reform in the penal code.

This study, Dr. Williams concludes in his final chapter, "The Continuing Theme," should aid in evaluating certain personality traits of South Carolinians, especially their individualism and class consciousness. This basically, *Vogues in Villainy* succeeds in doing. Dr. Williams' extremely well-documented investigation is admittedly of an "isolated facet of the complex social and cultural history of the state." He selected South Carolina for his study "because in many respects the state was typical of the Old South."

DOROTHY M. BROWN

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

NOTES AND QUERIES

MY LADY'S MANOR

My Lady's Manor, a tract of 10,000 acres lying mostly in the 10th district of Baltimore County but overlapping somewhat into Harford County, was given by Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, to his fourth wife, Margaret, "Lady Baltimore, Baroness of Baltimore" on Sept. 10, 1713. She bequeathed it to his Lordship's granddaughter, Charlotte Calvert Brerewood.

Neither Lady Margaret nor Lady Charlotte ever made her home on this lovely manor but leased the land to different tenants. After the Revolution, the manor was seized by the newly formed United States Government who sold it off in smaller farms. From then on the section has remained a distinct community with the name of My Lady's Manor. Lately, because of the fast-growing population and changing times, this charming and historical name is fading into disuse. People are using more and more the name of the postoffice, Monkton.

In order to preserve the name as well as the identity of the community, it was decided by the Manor Improvement Association to sponsor a plan using road markers at the approximate points where roads cross the boundary lines of the original tract.

John H. Pearce, Jr., prepared a map after studying old deeds, maps and spending many hours finding the original markers. These stones bear the initials L. B. G. (Lord Baltimore's Gift). He discovered sixteen markers would be necessary.

The State Roads Commission was most cooperative in sanctioning the map and promising to erect the markers if they passed specifications.

Now at last the job has been completed. The markers are in place. If you live in or near My Lady's Manor, be proud of your heritage and explain to your friends what "Lord Baltimore's Guift" means.

Locations of My Lady's Manor Road Markers

Corbett Road—1—east of Gunpowder Falls
2—west of " "

Carroll Road—about 1/4 mile north of Corbett Rd.

Old York Road—1—just south of intersection with Manor Rd.

H. Co. 2—about 1/4 mile south of Md. No. 23

Manor Road—just south of intersection with Old York Rd.

H. Co.—Hess Road—1 about 1/4 mile west of Md. No. 146 (Jarrettsville Pike)

H. Co.—Pocock Road—1 about 1/4 mile west of Md. No. 146 (Taylor)

H. Co.—Houck's Mill Rd.—1 about 1/2 miles west of Md. No. 146

H. Co.—Houck Road—1 about 1/3 mile south of Md. No. 23
 H. Co.—Troyer Road—1 on Troyer Rd. No. 138—near Black Horse on
 No. 23
 McComas Rd.—1 about 4/5 of a mile n. w. of Troyer Rd. (Md. No. 138)
 Wilson Road—1—near Gunpowder Falls
 Blue Mount Rd.—1 about 1 mile east of Blue Mt.
 Monkton Rd.—1 about 1/8 mile west of Gunpowder F. (No. 138)
 Irish Ave.—1—midway between Monkton and Corbett Rds.
 All face away from My Lady's Manor

JOHN H. SCARFF

Hyde, Md.

Bishop John Johns (1796-1876)—Who has his manuscripts? Who knew his son, The Rev. Arthur S. Johns, of Sudley, West River, Maryland? Are any of his descendants now living? Does anyone have one of his letters? This information is needed for a biography of Bishop Johns, being written by myself.

JOHN SUMMER WOOD, SR.

Rockville, Md.

Ford—Information is requested about the Ford family of Somerset County, Md. circa 1750-1800. Does anyone know anything at all about Charles Ford who had a farm in the Fairmount area, was a ship captain, an Episcopalian, said to be an immigrant from Devonshire, England, supposed to be buried at St. Paul's Episcopal cemetery in Baltimore, and had three children by a second wife: Samuel, b. 1773-4 d. 1847; Elizabeth; Thomas, sea captain—lost at sea. Charles supposedly immigrated with three brothers who settled, one each, in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

Owens—Information is also requested about the parents of Peter Owens of Quantico, Md., b. 1816, d. after 1872. He had a brother, Elisha, Sr., and is believed to have had sons, Samuel James, John, Oliver, Alexander, Spartan (who moved to Anne Arundel Co.).

ROLAND W. FORD

Route 5

Salisbury, Md.

Richard Blount, S. J.—Information is desired on Father Richard Blount who was among the outstanding English Jesuits at the time of the planning of the Maryland colony. In 1619, he was vice Provincial and Provincial in 1632 of the English Province. It was to Father Blount that

the first Lord Baltimore applied for American missionaries, and Cecil frequently sought his advice.

CHARLES J. BURTON, S. J.
Loyola Seminary
Shrub Oak, N. Y.

Timothy Cummins—I should welcome any information, especially about Deeds, of Timothy Cummins, supposed to have "entered at the Port of Oxford, Md." sometime between 1698 and 1731. At this time he purchased land on "the Court House Square" in Dover, Dela. and died there in 1746 leaving two minor children, Daniel & Hannah. By 1756 both children were adults and married to the children of Humphrey & Sebellah (Elbert) Wells, Jr., of near Church Hill, Queen Anne's Co. All were large Maryland landowners. Also any information concerning Zorobabel Wells & Mary his wife, of the same County, grandfather of Humphrey Wells, Jr.

MRS. C. RAYMOND CUMMINS
33 So. State St.
Dover, Dela.

Benjamin Hanson—Can anyone identify and give the names of the parents of Benjamin Hanson, Kent County, Maryland? He was brother of Elizabeth Hanson, father of James Hanson, Martha Hanson (wife of Henry Webster), Emaliene Reed, and Hannah Snow and grandfather of Thomas Hanson James, James Henry Hanson, Sarah Elizabeth Bradshaw, and Harriet Elizabeth Hanson. This information is from will dated 1828.

EDMUND P. H. HARRISON, JR., M. D.
2903 N. Charles St.
Baltimore 18, Md.

Edmund Howard—Edmund married in 1681 Margaret Dent. He died in Charles Co. Md. in 1712. I am requesting correspondence with his descendants for genealogical records in lines of the sons William Stephens, Thomas, John, and George of Nehemiah Howard who lived in Worcester Co. Md. before 1761. I am also requesting information on the parentage of Edmund, Stephens, John, Nehemiah and Obediah Howard who lived 1758-1761 in Orange Co., N. C.

MRS. DELIA GIST GARDNER
101 N. Mt. Vernon
Prescott, Arizona

Halley-Hawley—We are seeking the address of H. T. Cory who wrote on the Hawley (Halley, etc.) family in the 1939 issues of this *Magazine*, page 175, and shall appreciate any further information on him and on the family. We are attempting to collect the genealogy of the family, eventually to publish supplement to *The Hawley Record*, E. S. Hawley, (Buffalo, 1890).

CHARLES W. HAWLEY
65 Woolsley Ave.
Trumbull, Conn.

Spicer's Run—Those interested in Mr. Marye's article "Some Baltimore City Place Names," printed in the March 1959 issue of this *Magazine* will find pertinent the following note contributed by him: "A word about John Spicer, who gave his name to Spicer's Run: he was married Nov. 10, 1709 to Juliatha Hawkins, daughter of Augustine Hawkins, of Anne Arundel County, Md. She was born Oct. 29, 1789. I had this information from the late Francis B. Culver. There is something about him in Mrs. Ida Morrison Shirk's *Talbott Book*, (1927), at page 34. On Jan. 23, 1716, he leased of John Talbott fifty acres of a tract of land called "Talbott's Plaines," on which the aforesaid Talbott was then engaged in building a dwelling house for the lessee. This lease is recorded in Liber T. R. No. A, at f. 485, Baltimore County. The situation of the land so leased is not described exactly. The lease was to run for the lifetime of the said Spicer. The dwelling house was to be 20 feet square. Spicer was to have liberty to build a warehouse or store on the property and Talbott was to build him a 40-foot tobacco house. "Talbott's Plaines," 620 acres, was taken up by Edward Talbott, January 10, 1688 (Unpatented Certificate 828, Baltimore County). The land remained unpatented for many years. About 40 years after the date of the survey John Talbott's widow had it resurveyed and patented under the name of "Mary's Plaines" (Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 34). Later still, this land was acquired by Dr. George Walkeer, was resurveyed with other land and some "vacancy," and called "Chatsworth." While the site of Spicer's residence on "Talbott's Plaines" remains unknown, it seems quite possible to me that when that land was resurveyed, it was left out, so that from 1716 on until his death he may have had only one place of abode. "Spicer's Inheritance" adjoins "Chatsworth." Spicer was one of the earliest known settlers of the Mount Royal area. Among his descendants are members of the Dobbin, Penniman and Pennington families, some of whose representatives live in Baltimore."

The following corrections, supplied by Mr. Marye, should be made in the article mentioned above: P. 22, note 26, "1928" should be "1959"; p. 29, fifth line in next to last paragraph, after "Falls" the word "Road" has been omitted; p. 35, note 88, the deed here cited was executed in 1849, not in 1829. Charles Street was extended from Eager Street to "The Boundary" (North Avenue) in 1847. (George W. McCreary, *Baltimore Street Index*, 1900, p. 51.) Its extension necessitated

the destruction of the old Hanson-Rutter graveyard and brought about the removal of the bodies interred therein.

Editor

Portrait of George Dent—To complete the gallery of pictures of Speakers of the U. S. House of Representatives, a portrait or engraving of George Dent of Maryland (1760(?)-1842) who was speaker 1797-1799, is being sought. At the request of the Honorable Louis L. Goldstein, Comptroller of Maryland, a search of the Society's files was made but without success. Mr. Goldstein wishes to transmit such a picture, when found, to Speaker Sam Raeburn. It appears that pictures of all the Speakers of the House have been located except those of Dent and one other.

Editor

CONTRIBUTORS

JANE L. PHELPS is Assistant Professor of History at College Misericordia, Dallas, Pennsylvania. She received her Ph. D. degree at Georgetown University and is currently completing a biography of Bonaparte.

ARTHUR E. KARINEN is Assistant Professor of Geography at Chico State College, Chico, California. He received the doctorate in 1958 from the University of Maryland and is continuing his important studies of Maryland population.

WILLIAM B. MARYE, Corresponding Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, is one of the leading authorities on local history. His contributions to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* have included articles on the seacoast, the pre-settlement period of Western Maryland, Maryland Indians, natural history and place names.





